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CONTENTS.

Dr WITHERSPOON's Addreſs to the natives of Scotland reſiding in America 113.
— Reproof to S. Adams for his reflection on the doctrine of original ſin 120.
INDEPENDENCE-DECLARATION. The Anſwer continued. Of population 121. the adminiſtration of juſtice 122. judges ib. new offices 123. ſtanding armies 124. the military and civil power 125. ſubjection to a juriſdiction foreign to the conſtitution 126. quartering troops ib. mock trials 127. and cutting off the American trade 128.
On the health of MARINERS. Of the rob of lemons and oranges 129. vinegar ib. ſour krout ib. portable ſoup 130. watches ib. cleanlineſs ib. keeping dry and well-aired 131. fire as a purifier ib. wind-ſails 132. freſh water ib. ice melting into freſh water ib. and the ſtate of health of Capt. Cook's crew 133.
A receipt for the cure of the GOUT 133.
PARLIAMENT. On the bill for ſuſpending the *Habeas corpus* in America 134.—139.
A ſagacious DOG 139.
AMERICA. Gen. Howe to Ld G. Germaine 139. Skirmiſhes 139, 43, 44. Fort Independence attacked 140, 43. Submiſſions 140. Congreſs on the taking of Gen. Lee 141. Gen. Waſhington to the army ib. Forbids plundering ib. American accounts 142. Particulars of the defeat of the Heſſians ib. Puniſhments 145. Force ib. Order of the Bath 146. Public thanks ib. Paper-currency ib. Dictator ib. Proclamation by Gen. Waſhington 147. Maſſachuſets addreſs to the ſoldiers ib. and for recruiting 148. Ld Howe to Dr Franklin 150. The anſwer ib.
A PAINTING challenge 139.
A remarkable cure of FITS 151.
A JACK OF ALL TRADES advertiſed for 151.
NEW BOOKS 152.—158.
POETRY. On the death of a brother 159. and of a floriſt ib. On the ſituation of an unfortunate divine ib. Written by an unhappy priſoner 160. The Violet ib. Rhapſody to Taſte ib. On true happineſs ib.
HISTORICAL AFFAIRS 161.—168.

An ADDRESS to the Natives of Scotland reſiding in America.

[Annexed to Dr Witherſpoon's ſermon.][96.]

Countrymen and Friends,

AS ſoon as I had conſented to the publication of the foregoing ſermon *, I felt an irreſiſtible deſire to accompany it with a few words addreſſed to you in particular. I am certain I feel the attachment of country as far as it is a virtuous or laudable principle, perhaps it would be nearer the truth to ſay, as far as it is a natural and pardonable prejudice. He who is ſo pleaſed may attribute it to this laſt when I ſay, that I have never ſeen cauſe to be aſhamed of the place of my birth; that ſince the revival of arts and letters in Europe, in the cloſe of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, the natives of Scotland have not been inferior to thoſe of any other country, for genius, erudition, military proweſs, or any of thoſe accompliſhments which improve or embelliſh human nature. When to this it is added, that ſince my coming to America at an advanced period of life, the friendſhip of my countrymen has been as much above my expectation as deſert; I hope every reader will conſider what is now to be offered, as the effect not only of unfeigned good-will, but of the moſt ardent affection.

* [The Sermon, though preached before, was not publiſhed till after the Declaration of Independence was iſſued. This Addreſs has no date.]

It has given me no little uneaſineſs to hear the word *Scotch* uſed as a term of reproach in the American controverſy; which could only be upon the ſuppoſition that ſtrangers of that country are more univerſally oppoſed to the liberties of America than thoſe who were born in South Britain, or in Ireland. I am ſenſible that this has been done in ſome news-papers, and contemptible anonymous publications, in a manner that was neither warranted by truth, nor dictated by prudence. There are many natives of Scotland in this country, whoſe oppoſition to the unjuſt claims of G. Britain has been as early and uniform, founded upon as rational and liberal principles, and therefore likely to be as laſting, as that of any ſet of men whatever. As to G. Britain itſelf, time has now fully diſcovered, that the real friends of America in any part of that kingdom were very few; and thoſe whoſe friendſhip was diſintereſted, and in no degree owing to their own political factions, ſtill fewer. The wiſe and valuable part of the nation were, and as yet are, in a great meaſure ignorant of the ſtate of things in this country; neither is it eaſy for the bulk of a people to ſhake off their prejudices, and open their eyes upon the great principles of univerſal liberty. It is therefore at leaſt very diſputable, whether there is any juſt ground for the diſtinction between Scots and Engliſh on this ſubject at all.

This diſpute, however, I do not mean to enter upon; becauſe it is of too little moment to find a place here.

But ſuppoſing that, in ſome provinces eſpecially, the natives of Scotland have been too much inclined to ſupport the uſurpations of the parent-ſtate, I will firſt endeavour to account for it, by aſſigning ſome of its probable cauſes; and then offer a few conſiderations which ſhould induce them to wipe off the aſperſion entirely, by a contrary conduct.

As to the firſt of theſe, I will mention what I ſuppoſe to have been the firſt and radical cauſe, and which gave birth to every other, of the diſaffection of ſome of the natives of Scotland to the juſt privileges of America. What I have in view, was the friends of liberty in many places of America taking the part of, and ſeeming to conſider themſelves as in a great meaſure engaged in the ſame cauſe with that very diſtinguiſhed perſon, John Wilkes, Eſq; of London. This was done, not only in many writings and news-paper diſſertations, but one or two colonies, in ſome of their moſt reſpectable meetings, manifeſted their attachment to him, and ſeemed to conſider him as their patron and friend. N° 45. which was the moſt offenſive number of a worthleſs paper, was repeated and echoed, by the moſt ſilly and ridiculous alluſions to it, through every part of the country, and by many who could not tell what was ſignified by the term.

It will not be neceſſary to ſay much on the prudence of ſuch conduct, becauſe I ſuppoſe thoſe who expected Wilkes's mob would pull down the parliament-houſe, or that there would be inſurrections all over the kingdom in behalf of America, are by this time fully ſatisfied of their miſtake. It appears now in the cleareſt manner, that, till very lately, thoſe who ſeemed to take the part of America in the Britiſh parliament, never did it on American principles. They either did not underſtand, or were not willing to admit, the extent of our claim. Even the great Lord Chatham's bill for reconciliation [xxxvii. 83.] would not have been accepted here, and did not materially differ from what the miniſtry would have conſented to. The truth is, the far greateſt part of the countenance given in Britain to the complaints of this country, was by thoſe who had no other intention in it than to uſe them as an engine of oppoſition to the miniſtry for the time being. It is true, ſome of them have now learned to reaſon very juſtly, and upon the moſt liberal principles; but their number is not great, and it was not the caſe with any one ſpeaker or writer whoſe works I have had the opportunity of peruſing, till the very laſt ſtage of the quarrel.

What effect this Wilkiſm (if I may ſpeak ſo) of many Americans may be ſuppoſed to have had upon the minds of gentlemen from Scotland, it is not difficult to explain. That gentleman, and his aſſociates, thought proper to found the whole of their oppoſition to the then miniſtry, upon a contempt and hatred of the Scottiſh nation; and by the moſt illiberal methods, and the moſt ſcandalous falſehoods, to ſtir up a national jealouſy between the northern and ſouthern parts of the iſland. There was not a vile term, or hateful idea, which ancient vulgar animoſity had ever uſed, though long union had made them ſcarcely intelligible, which

which he did not rake up, and attempt to bring into credit, by writing and converſation. The conſequence of this is well known. Wilkes and ſome others were burnt in effigy in Scotland; and it produced ſo general an attachment to the King and miniſtry, as has not yet ſpent its force. In theſe circumſtances, is it to be wondered at, that many who left Scotland within the laſt fifteen years, when they heard Wilkes, and thoſe who adhered to him, extolled and celebrated by the ſons of liberty, ſhould be apt to conſider it as an evidence of the ſame ſpirit, and that they were engaged in ſupport of the ſame cauſe? Perhaps we may go a little higher with this remark, in tracing political appearances to their ſource. It is generally ſaid, that the King himſelf has diſcovered a violent, rancorous, perſonal hatred againſt the Americans. If this be true, and I know nothing to the contrary, it may be eaſily accounted for upon the very ſame principles.

I am far from ſuppoſing that this was a good reaſon for any man's being cool to the American cauſe, which was as different from that of Wilkes, as light is from darkneſs. It was indeed doing great diſhonour to the noble ſtruggle, to ſuppoſe it to have any connection with who ſhould be in or out of court-favour at London; and therefore it was always my opinion, that thoſe who railed againſt the King and miniſtry only, did not carry the argument home, nor fully underſtand the nature of their own plea. In order to juſtify the American oppoſition, it is not neceſſary to ſhew that the perſons in power have invaded liberty in Britain; it is ſufficient to ſay, that they, with the concurrence of the whole nation, have refuſed to ſuffer it to continue in the colonies.

This leads me to the ſecond part of my deſign, which was, to lay before you the reaſons which, I think, ſhould induce every lover of juſtice and of mankind, not only to be a well-wiſher, but a firm and ſtedfaſt friend to America, in this important conteſt.

It has been often ſaid, that the preſent is likely to be an important æra to America. I think we may ſay much more; it is likely to be an important æra in the hiſtory of mankind. In the ancient migrations, a new country was generally ſettled by a ſmall, unconnected, and often an ignorant band. The people and the ſoil were alike uncultivated, and therefore they proceeded to improvement by very ſlow degrees; nay, many of them fell back, and degenerated into a ſtate vaſtly more ſavage than the people from whence they came. In America we ſee a rich and valuable ſoil, and an extenſive country, taken poſſeſſion of by the power, the learning, and the wealth of Europe. For this reaſon it is now exhibiting to the world a ſcene which was never ſeen before. It has had a progreſs in improvement and population, ſo rapid as no political calculators have been able to aſcertain. I look upon every thing that has been ſaid upon this ſubject to be mere conjecture, except in ſuch places as there has been an actual numeration. When men ſay, that America doubles its number in fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five years, they ſpeak by gueſs, and they ſay nothing. In ſome places that may be under or over the truth; but there are vaſt tracts of land that fill every year with inhabitants, and yet the old ſettled places ſtill continue to increaſe.

It is proper to obſerve, that the Britiſh ſettlements have been improved in a proportion far beyond the ſettlements of other European nations. To what can this be aſcribed? Not to the climate; for they are of all climates: not to the people; for they are a mixture of all nations. It muſt therefore be reſolved ſingly into the degree of Britiſh liberty which they brought from home, and which pervaded more or leſs their ſeveral conſtitutions. It has been repeated to us, I know not how often, by the mercenary ſhort-ſighted writers in favour of ſubmiſſion to or re-union with G. Britain, that we have thriven very much in paſt times by our dependence on the mother-country, and therefore we ſhould be loth to part. Theſe writers forget, that the very complaint is, that ſhe will not ſuffer us to enjoy our ancient rights. Can any paſt experience ſhew, that we ſhall thrive under new impoſitions? I ſhould be glad any ſuch reaſoners would attempt to prove, that we have thriven by our dependence, and not by the degree of independence which we have hitherto enjoyed. If we have thriven by our dependence, I conceive it is a neceſſary conſequence, that thoſe provinces muſt have thriven moſt which have been moſt dependent. But the contrary is ſelf-evident. Thoſe which have hitherto enjoy-

ed the freeſt form of government, though greatly inferior in ſoil and climate, have yet outſtripped the others in number of people and value of land, merely becauſe the laſt were more under the influence of appointments and authority from home.

When this is the undeniable ſtate of things, can any perſon of a liberal mind wiſh that theſe great and growing countries ſhould be brought back to a ſtate of ſubjection to a diſtant power? And can any man deny, that if they had yielded to the claims of the Britiſh parliament, they would have been no better than a parcel of tributary ſtates, ruled by lordly tyrants, and exhauſted by unfeeling penſioners, under the commiſſion of one too diſtant to hear the cry of oppreſſion, and ſurrounded by thoſe who had an intereſt in deceiving him. It ought, therefore, in my opinion, to meet with the cordial approbation of every impartial perſon, as I am confident it will of poſterity, that they have united for common defence, and reſolved that they will be both free and independent, becauſe they cannot be the one without the other.

As this meaſure, long foreſeen, has now taken place. I ſhall beg leave to ſay a few things upon it; in which I mean to ſhow, 1. That it was neceſſary; 2. That it will be honourable and profitable; and, 3. That, in all probability, it will be no injury, but a real advantage, to the iſland of G. Britain.

1. It had become abſolutely neceſſary. All reconciliation, but upon the footing of abſolute unconditional ſubmiſſion, had been poſitively refuſed by G. Britain; unleſs, therefore, the colonies had reſolved to continue in a looſe and broken ſtate, with the name of a government which they had taken arms to oppoſe, the ſtep which they have now taken could not have been avoided. Beſides, things had proceeded ſo far, and ſuch meaſures had been taken on both ſides, that it had become impoſſible to lay down a ſcheme by which *they* ſhould be ſure of our dependence, and *we*, at the ſame time, ſecured in our liberties. While things continued in their ancient ſtate, there was perhaps a power on the part of each, of which they were hardly conſcious, or were afraid and unwilling to exert. But after the encroachments had been made, and reſiſted, to expect any thing elſe than a continual attempt to extend authority on the one hand, and to guard againſt it on the other, is to diſcover very little knowledge of human nature. In ſuch a ſituation, though every claim of America ſhould be yielded, ſhe would ſoon be either in a ſtate of continual confuſion, or abſolute ſubmiſſion. The King of England, living in his Engliſh dominions, would not, and indeed durſt not, aſſent to any act of an American legiſlature, that was, or was ſuppoſed to be hurtful to his Engliſh ſubjects. This is not founded on conjecture, but experience. There is not (at leaſt Dean Swift affirms it) any dependence of Ireland upon England, except an act of the Iriſh parliament, that the King of England ſhall be the King of Ireland. This laſt has a ſeparate independent legiſlature; and, in every thing elſe but the above circumſtance, ſeems to be perfectly free: yet if any man ſhould aſſert, that the one kingdom is not truly ſubject to the other, he would, in my opinion, know very little of the ſtate and hiſtory of either.

2. A ſtate of independency will be both honourable and profitable to this country. I paſs over many advantages in the way of commerce, as well as in other reſpects, that muſt neceſſarily accrue from it, that I may dwell a little on the great and leading benefit, which is the foundation of all the reſt. We ſhall have the opportunity of forming plans of government upon the moſt rational, juſt, and equal principles. I confeſs I have always looked upon this with a kind of enthuſiaſtic ſatisfaction. The caſe never happened before ſince the world began. All the governments we have read of in former ages, were ſettled by caprice or accident, by the influence of prevailing parties or particular perſons, or preſcribed by a conqueror. Important improvements indeed have been forced upon ſome conſtitutions by the ſpirit of daring men, ſupported by ſucceſsful inſurrections. But to ſee government, in large and populous countries, ſettled from its foundation, by deliberate counſel, and directed immediately to the public good of the preſent and future generations, while the people are waiting for the deciſion with full confidence in the wiſdom and impartiality of thoſe to whom they have committed the important truſt, is certainly altogether new. We learn indeed from hiſtory, that ſmall tribes, and feeble new ſettlements, did ſometimes employ one man of eminent wiſdom to prepare a ſyſtem

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of laws for them. Even this was a wiſe meaſure, and attended with happy effects. But how vaſt the difference, when we have the experience of all paſt ages, the hiſtory of human ſociety, and the well known cauſes of proſperity and miſery in other governments, to aſſiſt us in the choice?

The proſpect of this happy circumſtance, and the poſſibility of loſing it, and ſuffering the ſeaſon to paſs over, has filled me with anxiety for ſome time. So far as we have hitherto proceeded, there has been great unanimity and public ſpirit. The inhabitants of every province, and perſons of all denominations, have vied with each other in zeal for the common intereſt. But was it not to be feared that ſome men would acquire overbearing influence? that human weakneſs and human paſſions would diſcover themſelves, and prevent the finiſhing of what had been ſo happily begun? In the time of the civil wars in England, had they ſettled a regular form of government as ſoon as the parliament had obtained an evident ſuperiority, their liberties would never have been ſhaken, and the Revolution would have been unneceſſary. But by delaying the thing ſo long, they were broken into parties, and bewildered in their views; and at laſt tamely ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to that very tyranny againſt which they had fought with ſo much glory and ſucceſs. For this reaſon I think, that every candid and liberal mind ought to rejoice in the meaſures lately taken through the ſtates of America, and particularly the late declaration of independence, as it will not only give union and force to the meaſures of defence while they are neceſſary, but lay a foundation for the birth of millions, and the future improvement of a great part of the globe. —— I have only further to obſerve,

3. That I am confident the independence of America will, in the end, be to the real advantage of the iſland of G. Britain. Were this even otherwiſe, it would be a weak argument againſt the claim of juſtice. Why ſhould the ſecurity or proſperity of this vaſt country be ſacrificed to the ſuppoſed intereſt of an inconſiderable ſpot? But I cannot believe that the miſery and ſubjection of any country on earth, is neceſſary to the happineſs of another. Blind partiality and ſelf-intereſt may repreſent it in this light; but the opinion is deluſive, the ſuppoſition is falſe. The ſucceſs and increaſe of one nation is, or may be, a benefit to every other. It is ſeldom, indeed, that a people in general can receive and adopt theſe generous ſentiments; they are nevertheleſs perfectly juſt. It is induſtry only, and not poſſeſſions, that makes the ſtrength and wealth of a nation; and this is not hindered, but encouraged, provoked, and rewarded by the induſtry of others *.

But to leave the general principle, or rather to apply it to the caſe of G. Britain and America: What profit has the former hitherto received from the latter? and what can it reaſonably expect for the future? Only its trade, and ſuch part of that trade as tends to encourage the induſtry and increaſe the number of the inhabitants of that iſland. It will be ſaid, they intend to raiſe a large, clear, nett revenue upon us, by taxation. It has been ſhewn by many, that all the taxes which they could raiſe, would only ſerve to feed the inſatiable deſire of wealth in placemen and penſioners, to increaſe the influence of the crown, and the corruption of the people. It was by the acquiſition of numerous provinces that Rome haſtened to its ruin. But even ſuppoſing it otherwiſe, and that, without any bad conſequence among themſelves, they were to acquire a great addition to their yearly revenue; for every ſhilling they gained by taxes, they would loſe ten in the way of trade. For a trifling addition to the ſums of public money to be applied or waſted by miniſters of ſtate, they would loſe ten times the quantity diſtributed among uſeful manufacturers, the ſtrength and glory of a ſtate. I think this has been ſometimes compared to the difference between draughts of ſpirituous liquors to intoxicate the head or weaken the ſtomach, and cool refreſhing food to give ſoundneſs, health, and vigour to every member of the body.

The trade, then, of America, as ſoon as peace is ſettled, will be as open to them as ever. —— But it will be ſaid, they have now an excluſive trade, they will then but ſhare it with other nations. I anſwer, an excluſive trade is not eaſily preſerved; and when it is preſerved, the reſtriction is commonly more hurtful than uſeful. Trade is of a nice and delicate nature: it is founded upon intereſt;

* See David Hume's eſſay on the jealouſy of trade.

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it will force its way where-ever intereſt leads, and can hardly by any art be made to go in another direction. The Spaniards have an excluſive trade, as far as they pleaſe to confine it, to their own plantations. Do they reap much benefit from it? I believe not. Has it made their own people more induſtrious at home? Juſt the contrary. Does it, in the natural courſe of things, make a people leſs careful to work as well and as cheap as others, to procure voluntary purchaſers, when they know they can ſend their goods to thoſe who are obliged to take them? Does it not both tempt and enable great merchants in the capital, to import from other nations what they can export to ſuch a forced market, to advantage? By this means a conſiderable profit may come into the coffers of a few particulars, while no eſſential ſervice is done to the people, and the ultimate profit is carried to that country where the goods are produced or fabricated. It has been repeatedly ſaid, by political writers in England, that the balance of trade is againſt that country to every nation, excepting Portugal, and their own plantations. I will not anſwer for the truth or univerſality of this aſſertion; but if it is true in any meaſure, I will venture to affirm, upon the principles of general reaſon, that the cauſe which produces it is no other than the excluſive trade they have hitherto enjoyed to the American ſettlements.

But the circumſtance which I apprehend will contribute moſt to the intereſt of G. Britain in American independence is, its influence in peopling and enriching this great continent. It will certainly tend to make the American ſtates numerous, powerful, and opulent, to a degree not eaſily conceived. The great and penetrating Monteſquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, has ſhewn in the cleareſt manner, that nothing contributes ſo much to the proſperity of a people, as the ſtate of ſociety among them, and the form of their government. A free government overcomes every obſtacle, makes a deſert a fruitful field, and fills a bleak and barren country with all the conveniencies of life. If ſo, what muſt be the operation of this powerful cauſe upon countries enjoying, in the higheſt degree, every advantage that can be derived from ſituation, climate, and ſoil? If the trade of America has hitherto been of ſo great benefit to England, how much more valuable may it be when theſe countries ſhall be ſtill more highly improved, if ſhe ſhall continue to enjoy it? This argument is liable to no objection but what may ariſe from the loſs of an excluſive trade, which I have already conſidered. It may be added, however, that there is not now, nor ever has been, any averſion in the Americans to the people of G. Britain: ſo that they may be ſure of our trade, if they treat us as well as others; and if otherwiſe, they do not deſerve it.

I might illuſtrate the argument, by ſtating the probable conſequences of a contrary ſuppoſition. If G. Britain ſhould prevail, or overcome the American ſtates, and eſtabliſh viceroys, with abſolute authority, in every province; all men of ſpirit, and lovers of freedom, would certainly withdraw themſelves to a corner, if ſuch could be found, out of the reach of tyranny and oppreſſion. The numbers of the people at any rate would ſenſibly decreaſe, their wealth would be ſpeedily exhauſted, and there would remain only a nominal authority over a deſolate country, in return for a vaſt expence laid out in the conqueſt, and in place of a great and profitable trade, by which both nations were made happy. One of the arguments, if they may be called ſo, made uſe of againſt this country, and on which an obligation to obedience has been founded, is taken from the expence they have been at in blood and treaſure for our protection in former wars. This argument has been often anſwered in the fulleſt manner; but if they ſhall continue to urge it, how fearful to think of the obligations we ſhall be under, after this war is finiſhed? Then ſhall we owe them all the ſums which they ſhall have laid out in ſubduing us, and all that we have ſpent in attempting to prevent it; all the blood which they ſhall have ſhed in attacking us, and all that we ſhall have ſpilt in our own defence. There is unqueſtionably a loſs to G. Britain, by the one ſide of the account as well as the other; and it tends to ſhow, in the cleareſt manner, the unſpeakable folly, as well as great injuſtice, of the promoters of this war.

Thus I have ſtated to you, though very briefly, the principles on which I think the American cauſe ought to be pleaded, and on which it ought to be eſpouſed and ſupported, by every lover of juſtice and of mankind. But though

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the general plea in juſtice were leſs clear than it is, there is a light in which the conduct of the oppoſers of it has always appeared to me unreaſonable and ungenerous to the higheſt degree. That reſiſtance to G. Britain has been determined on, in the moſt reſolute manner, through all the colonies, by a vaſt majority, is not only certain, but undeniable. In the beginning of the controverſy, ſome writers, with an impudence hardly to be parallelled, called the fact in queſtion, attempted to deceive the people in this country, and effectually deceived the people of England, by making them believe, that it was only a few factious and violent men that had engaged in the conteſt. It is not very long ſince a writer had the courage to aſſert, that "nine tenths of the people of Pennſylvania were againſt independence." The falſehood of ſuch miſrepreſentations is now manifeſt; and indeed was probably known from the beginning, by thoſe who deſired to have them believed. Taking this for granted, then, for an inconſiderable minority, whether natives or ſtrangers, to ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the public counſels, is contrary to reaſon and juſtice, and even to the very firſt principles of the ſocial life.

If there is any principle that was never controverted upon the ſocial union, it is, that, as a body, every ſociety muſt be determined by the plurality. There was a time when it was not only juſt, and conſiſtent, but neceſſary, that every one ſhould ſpeak his mind freely and fully of the neceſſity or expediency of reſiſting the authority of G. Britain. But that time is over long ago. The meaſures being reſolved upon, and the conflict begun, one who is barely neuter can ſcarce be forgiven; a ſecret plodding enemy muſt be conſidered as a traitor. Every perſon who continued among us after the deciſive reſolutions formed by all the colonies, ought to be conſidered as pledging his faith and honour to aſſiſt in the common cauſe. Let me try to illuſtrate it by a ſimilar caſe. Suppoſe that a ſhip at ſea ſprings a leak, which expoſes the whole company to the moſt imminent danger of periſhing; ſuppoſe a council is called of all the perſons on board to determine what port they ſhall endeavour to gain: then it is not only the right, but the duty, of every one, to ſpeak his own judgement, and to preſs it upon others by every argument in his power. Suppoſe a great majority determines to puſh for a certain place, and to go to the pump by turns every quarter of an hour; but that two, or three, or one, if you pleaſe, is of opinion, that they ſhould have gone another courſe, becauſe of the wind, current, or any other circumſtance, and that it would be beſt to change hands at the pump only every half-hour. All this is well. But if, after the determination, this ſame gentleman, becauſe his advice was not followed, ſhould refuſe to pump at all, ſhould ſlily alter the ſhip's courſe, or deaden her way by every means in his power; or even ſhould only, by continual complaints and deſpondent fears, diſcourage others on whoſe activity the common ſafety depended: I deſire to know what treatment he would receive or deſerve? Without doubt he would be thrown over-board in leſs time than I have taken to ſtate the caſe. I am not able to perceive the leaſt difference between this ſuppoſition and what takes place in America at the preſent time.

If this argument is juſt with reſpect to every inhabitant of the country, it ought to have ſome additional weight with thoſe who are not natives, and whoſe reſidence is not certain, or has not been long. There is a great degree of indecency in ſuch taking any part againſt what the majority of the inhabitants think to be their intereſt and that of their country. Were they even wrong, their miſtake ſhould be lamented, not reſiſted; on the contrary, it would be the part both of generoſity and juſtice to ſupport them effectually in a conteſt which wiſdom would have declined. We ſee indeed every day melancholy inſtances of a baſe and ſelfiſh temper operating different ways. Many, when they do not obtain that rank and honour which their pride and partiality think their due, or if their advice is not followed, immediately renounce the ſervice of their country, and it may go to deſtruction for them. In oppoſition to this, let me recommend the example of the illuſtrious Fabius of Rome. He had given ſtrict orders to all his officers not to engage the enemy, but to keep at a diſtance. Unluckily his lieutenant-general, by his own raſhneſs, got entangled with a part of the army under his command, and was engaged. Fabius, preferring his country's good to fame, rivalſhip, and ſafety, came immediately to his ſupport with

with all expedition, and thereby gained a glorious and complete victory.

I hope you will take in good part the above reflections, which, I think, contain nothing that is virulent or indecent againſt any man or body of men. They are the effects of judgement and conviction. The Author, as is probably known to many of you, has been perſonally abuſed in news-papers at home for the part he was ſuppoſed to have taken in the American cauſe, which was in ſome degree indeed the motive to this addreſs. He hopes that an honeſt and faithful ſupport of liberty and equal government in this part of the world, will be no juſt reproach to his character, either as a ſcholar, a miniſter, or a Chriſtian, and that it is perfectly conſiſtent with an undiminiſhed regard for the country which gave him birth.

The above is ſubmitted to your candid peruſal, by, Gentlemen, your ſincere friend, and obedient humble ſervant, The AUTHOR.

A further extract from the Sermon. [94.]

Dr Witherſpoon having obſerved, that "men of lax principles delight in extolling the dignity of human nature, without diſtinguiſhing what it was at its creation, from what it is in its fallen ſtate," ſubjoins a note, viz.

I cannot help embracing this opportunity of making a remark or two upon a virulent reflection thrown out againſt this doctrine, in a well-known pamphlet, *Common Senſe*. The author of that work expreſſes himſelf thus.

"If the firſt king of any country was by election, that likewiſe eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next: for to ſay, that the right of all future generations is taken away, by the act of the firſt electors, in their choice, not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of ſcripture, but the doctrine of original ſin, which ſuppoſes the free will of all men loſt in Adam; and from ſuch compariſon, (it will admit of no other), hereditary ſucceſſion can derive no glory. For as in Adam all ſinned, and as in the firſt electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were ſubjected to Satan, and in the other to Sovereignty; as our innocence was loſt in the firſt, and our authority in the laſt; and as both diſable us from reaſſuming ſome former ſtate and privilege, it unanſwerably follows, that original ſin and hereditary ſucceſſion are parallels. Diſhonourable rank! Inglorious connection! Yet the moſt ſubtle ſophiſt cannot produce a juſter ſimile." [xxxviii. 295]

Without the ſhadow of reaſoning, he is pleaſed to repreſent the doctrine of original ſin as an object of contempt or abhorrence. I beg leave to demur a little to the *candour*, the *prudence*, and the *juſtice* of this proceeding.

1. Was it *modeſt* or *candid* for a perſon without name or character, to talk in this ſupercilious manner of a doctrine that has been eſpouſed and defended by many of the greateſt and beſt men that the world ever ſaw, and makes an eſſential part of the eſtabliſhed creeds and confeſſions of all the Proteſtant churches without exception? I thought the grand modern plea had been, freedom of ſentiment, and charitable thoughts of one another. Are ſo many of us, then, beyond the reach of this gentleman's charity? I do aſſure him, that ſuch preſumption and ſelf-confidence are no recommendation to me either of his character or ſentiments.

2. Was it *prudent*, when he was pleading a public cauſe, to ſpeak in ſuch opprobrious terms of a doctrine, which he knew, or ought to have known, was believed and profeſſed by, I ſuppoſe, a great majority of very different denominations? Is this gentleman ignorant of human nature, as well as an enemy to the Chriſtian faith? Are men ſo little tenacious of their religious ſentiments, whether true or falſe? The prophet thought otherwiſe, who ſaid, *Hath a nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods?* Was it the way to obtain the favour of the public, to deſpiſe what they hold ſacred? Or ſhall we ſuppoſe this author ſo aſtoniſhingly ignorant, as to think that all men now, whoſe favour is worth aſking, have given up the doctrine of the New Teſtament? If he does, he is greatly miſtaken.

3. In fine, I aſk, Where was the *juſtice* of this proceeding? Is there ſo little to be ſaid for the doctrine of original ſin, that it is not to be refuted, but deſpiſed? Is the ſtate of the world ſuch, as to render this doctrine not only falſe, but incredible? Has the fruit been of ſuch a quality as to exclude all doubts of the goodneſs of the tree? — On the contrary, I cannot help being of opinion, that ſuch has been the viſible ſtate of the world in every age, as cannot be accounted for on any other principles, than what we learn from the word of God, that *the imagination of the heart of man is only evil from his youth, and that continually*, Gen. vi. 5.— viii. 21.

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An anſwer to the Declaration of Independence, continued. [74.]

ART. VII. He has endeavoured to prevent the population of theſe ſtates; for that purpoſe obſtructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their migrations hither; and raiſing the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

ANS. To prevent the population of a kingdom, is to diminiſh the number of ſubjects. That a king who is not mad, ſhould wiſh, and, in conſequence of that wiſh, ſhould deliberately endeavour, to diminiſh the number of his ſubjects, whilſt they continue to be his ſubjects, is an imputation, which nothing, but the extreme malice of it, could ſave from being ridiculous. Not only the imputation is not true, but it is impoſſible it ſhould be true; but it is impoſſible, that any man of common diſcernment ſhould believe it to be true of any king. Of all kings, it cannot be true of ſuch a king as it is the deſign of this declaration to repreſent his preſent Majeſty to be. That a king, through an inordinate thirſt of power, ſhould ſtudy to diminiſh the number of his ſubjects, is juſt as probable, as that, through an inordinate thirſt of money, he ſhould ſtudy to diminiſh the ſum of his revenue.

The proofs alledged in ſupport of this charge, are as falſe and futile, as the charge itſelf is incredible.

His Majeſty, they allege, "has obſtructed the laws for the naturaliization of foreigners; refuſed to paſs others to encourage their migrations thither; and raiſed the conditions of new appropriations of lands."

"His Majeſty has obſtructed the laws for the naturalization of foreigners."—*By the laws*, are meant the laws of the reſpective provinces. How comes it, that local, ſubordinate legiſlatures, ſhould aſſume the power of making laws for naturalization? Of what country are perſons thus naturalized to be reputed natural-born ſubjects? Is it of the whole Britiſh empire at large? and is the juriſdiction of theſe local legiſlatures ſo extenſive! The idea is too ridiculous to be admitted. Is it only of the particular province where the law ſhould be paſſed? How would this encourage the migration of foreigners? What advantage would it be to a foreigner to be a denizen on this ſide of a river, and an alien on that? So far from an advantage, it would ſerve only as a trap to enſnare him *.

It is curious, mean time, to obſerve the inconſequence of theſe men. At one moment they inſult his Majeſty becauſe he exerciſes his undoubted prerogative, of diſallowing, or refuſing to paſs, ſuch of their bills as he diſapproves. At another, they impute it to him as a crime, that he will not, by his ſole authority, ſuſpend, or repeal, acts of the Britiſh parliament. To have conſented to the provincial laws for naturalization, and for encouraging the migration of foreigners thither, he muſt have ſuſpended, or repealed, acts of the Britiſh parliament. The acts 7° & 8° Will. c. 22. for regulating abuſes in the trade of the plantations, lays particular reſtrictions on foreigners. And who among the emigrants ſhall ceaſe to be foreigners, and on what terms, the parliament has not left it to the King; it has taken on itſelf to determine †.

And is it a grivance too, that his Majeſty has raiſed the purchaſe and quit-rents of the ungranted lands in America? It has always been conceived, that theſe lands are as much the property of the King, as the private eſtate of an individual is the property of that individual. If the value of money decreaſe, and the value of land increaſe, is it unjuſt to raiſe the purchaſe or the rent? Does the augmentation of the purchaſe, or the rent, of the royal lands, bear any proportion to the increaſe of their value? Does it even bear any proportion to the augmentation in the purchaſe and the

* A ſingular inſtance of this is on record. A foreigner was naturalized by the aſſembly of New York. Conceiving his ſelf to be a natural-born ſubject within the meaning of the act of 12 Car. II. he bought a veſſel, and went on a trading voyage. The veſſel was ſeized, and confiſcated. The man appealed to the privy council; where the ſentence of the admiralty-court was affirmed; the privy council being clearly of opinion, that no act of a local ſubordinate legiſlature could vacate or extend the proviſions of an act of parliament.

† By 13 Geo. II. cap. 7.; — 20 Geo. II. cap. 44.; — 22 Geo. II. cap. 45.; — 29 Geo. II. cap. 5.; — 2 Geo. III. cap. 25. By this laſt act, paſſed under the reign of his preſent Majeſty, who is inſulted for obſtructing the naturalization and migration of foreigners, the privilege of natural born ſubjects is granted to thoſe who ſhall ſerve, though it be only two years, in the American wars.

quit-rents of the proprietary lands? The proprietors of Pennſylvania and Maryland ſet the example, yet againſt them no complaint, no murmur has been heard *.

ART. VIII. He has obſtructed the adminiſtration of juſtice, by refuſing his aſſent to laws for eſtabliſhing judiciary powers.

ANS. There is not, perhaps, in the whole ſcience of government, a point more difficult than the regulation of the judicial power. There is nothing upon which the peace of individuals more immediately depends; nor can any material change be made in the regulation of this power, without in the event affecting the whole conſtitution. It is, therefore, of all others, the point in which a wiſe government will be moſt fearful of admitting alterations.

It will not therefore appear ſtrange, that his Majeſty ſhould have been very delicate on this point; that he ſhould have been very averſe to giving his aſſent to laws, whoſe object was to eſtabliſh new judicial powers, or to admit any new regulation in thoſe already eſtabliſhed.

For the reader is not to imagine, that there exiſts a ſingle colony, where judicial powers, where courts of juſtice, are not eſtabliſhed. They are eſtabliſhed in all. In all thoſe who have ſent deputies to the American congreſs, theſe powers are regulated, as near as may be, on the model of the judicial power in England.

Some of the colonies wiſhed to introduce innovations, to eſtabliſh certain courts of juſtice upon principles which ſeemed to his Majeſty to claſh with the general principles of the conſtitution. To the eſtabliſhment of theſe courts the King refuſed his aſſent.

"*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari,*" was thought to be expreſſive of the height of patriotiſm in the mouths of the barons of old. It was reſerved to the American congreſs to diſcover, that an unſhaken attachment to the eſtabliſhed principles of a free conſtitution is a proof of tyranny and uſurpation in a king.

ART. IX. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their ſalaries.

ANS. If, with their allegiance, the members of the congreſs had not thrown off all ſenſe of ſhame, this article would never have found a place in the liſt of their grievances.

That the judges ſhould depend upon the King for "the tenure of their offices," is no innovation. From the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colonies to the preſent hour it has been ſo. The commiſſions of the judges have always been during the good pleaſure of the King. At ſuch a diſtance from the ſeat of government no danger can ariſe from it. It might perhaps be leſs conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution, that their commiſſions ſhould be for life, than during the pleaſure of the King.

That they are become dependent on the King "for the amount and payment of their ſalaries," reflects the higheſt ſhame upon the colonies.— Was it a voluntary act of the King? No. The regulation was forced upon him.

Every governor is inſtructed to demand a permanent ſalary for his ſelf and the

* In Pennſylvania lands were originally granted without paying any, or at moſt only a trifling, purchaſe-money: now for every hundred acres of uncultivated land, five pounds Sterling are paid as the purchaſe-money, and one penny Sterling as the annual quit rent.

In Maryland, for every hundred acres of uncultivated land, the purchaſe-money is riſen, ſince the year 1738, from forty ſhillings to five pounds Sterling; and the annual quit-rent from two to four ſhillings Sterling; ſubject moreover to a fine of one year's rent on every alienation

In both theſe provinces fees are paid by the grantees through every ſtage of the proceſs.

The crown uſed to receive four ſhillings proclamation money, equal to three ſhillings Sterling, as an annual quit rent for every hundred acres of uncultivated land. No purchaſe-money was given, but the charges of ſurveying were paid by the grantees.

Now for the amazing uſe in theſe conditions, ſo feelingly regretted by the congreſs: The crown at preſent directs the ſurveyor-general to ſet out allotments of lands, as perſons appear deſirous of making new ſettlements. The lands thus allotted are put up to public auction at ſix pence Sterling per acre [xxxiv 482] If no perſon bid more, they are ſold at that price, without any other charge whatever. The charges of ſurveying are no longer paid by the grantee, but by the King out of the funds ariſing from the ſale.

Terrible no doubt is the check thus given to population!

the judges. The demand is conſtantly made, and has been as conſtantly refuſed. It was the policy of the colonies to keep the judges dependent on the deputies of the people, for a temporary, wretched, and arbitrary ſupport *.

Was it reaſonable to expect, that judges, under ſuch circumſtances, ſhould firmly maintain the rights of the crown, or enforce the laws of trade, or in any caſe faithfully diſcharge their duty, in oppoſition to the overbearing ſpirit of a democracy, or even to the paſſions and prejudices of the multitude? Could it even be expected, that the rights of individuals would be better protected than the rights of government? Muſt not all redreſs of wrongs done by a more, to a leſs, powerful ſubject, be deſperate and unattainable? It might well be expected to happen, and accordingly we learn from the beſt authority, that it actually did happen,— "That all buſineſs of any moment was carried by parties and factions; and that thoſe of great power and intereſt in the country, did eaſily overbear others in their own cauſes, or in ſuch wherein they were intereſted, either by relation of kindred, tenure, ſervice, dependence, or application †."

In this ſituation what was his Majeſty to do? Conquer the obſtinacy of the colonies on this head he could not. In vain he exhorted them to make the judges independent. What they ſullenly refuſed, as far as he could do, his Majeſty did: he appointed them ſalaries, as fixed and certain as any act of his alone could make them. The concurrence of parliament was neceſſary to give them permanence.

Meanwhile the dependence of the judges on the crown is infinitely leſs entire, and leſs likely to be abuſed, than that dependence on the people we have above deſcribed. And ſurely, were it poſſible his Majeſty could wiſh, yet could he never hope, to render any part of the magiſtracy half ſo dependent on his ſelf, as the rebellious party has, from the beginning of theſe diſorders, rendered the whole of it dependent upon them. From his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, however juſt, all they could have to fear, would be the loſs of their offices and ſalaries. From the rebels, by adhering to their duty, their fortunes and their lives were alike in jeopardy.

ART. X. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and ſent hither ſwarms of officers, to haraſs our people, and eat out their ſubſiſtence.

ANS. To articles thus generally worded, it is not always eaſy to give an anſwer. In the inſtance before us, however, we are under no difficulty. The "multitude of new offices created, and the ſwarms of officers ſent over to America," under the preſent reign, conſiſt, firſt, in a board of cuſtoms; and, ſecondly, in additional courts of admiralty.

As to the board of cuſtoms, the reaſons of that eſtabliſhment are expreſſed in the preamble of the act. There it is we learn, that the officers who had been appointed in virtue of an act of Charles II. were obliged to apply to the commiſſioners in England for ſpecial inſtructions in particular caſes; that hence all who were concerned in the commerce of the colonies, were delayed and obſtructed in their commercial tranſactions; as a relief therefore to merchants and traders, his Majeſty is empowered to appoint commiſſioners of cuſtoms, with the ſame powers as are exerciſed by the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in England.

To cite the reaſons of eſtabliſhing this board, is at once not only to juſtify the eſtabliſhment, but to prove its utility to the very men who complain of it.

But "the ſwarms of officers" required to carry the act into execution "eat up the ſubſiſtence of the people." With what indignation muſt this charge be received, when it is known, that to theſe officers, no ſalary was given by the Americans, no ſalary demanded from them? when it is known, that by no leſs than three ſeveral acts of parliament, 5° Geo. III. c. 45; 10° Geo. III. c. 37; 15° Geo. III. c. 56. it is provided, that theſe officers ſhall take only the accuſtomed fees? The payments to be made depend now, as they ever have done, on the greater or leſs quantity of exports and imports; not on the ſmaller or larger number of officers appointed to receive the duties.

The courts of admiralty were multiplied for the ſame benevolent purpoſe, of giving eaſe to the Americans their ſelves. That the defendants might not be forced, in the firſt inſtance, to apply to a gene-

* See Adminiſtration of the Colonies, vol. 1. p. 3.

† Quoted from Lord Chief Juſtice Hale, and applied to the colonies by the author of "the Adminiſtration of the Colonies," vol. 1. p. 110.

ral court, held perhaps at an inconvenient diſtance; nor, in the dernier reſort, to appeal to the courts in England. Before they complained "that the means of juſtice were ſo remote as to be ſcarcely attainable *." Now they complain that the means of juſtice are brought to their own doors.

It was ſaid of ſome one, that he had a moſt convenient memory; of his credits no man ſo retentive, of his debts no man ſo forgetful. This convenient memory ſeems to have been inherited by the members of the congreſs. Is there a circumſtance which can by any means be miſrepreſented ſo as to appear to be a proof of innovation, or oppreſſion? it is ſure to be ſeized. Is there a circumſtance which no art can torture ſo as to make it appear to be other than beneficial? it is ſure to eſcape them. They forgot to tell us, that no new power is given to theſe officers; that the board of cuſtoms continues to exerciſe only the ſame power that the Engliſh commiſſioners had always exerciſed; that the new courts of admiralty continue to exerciſe only the ſame powers as had been always attributed to the ancient courts. They forgot to tell us, that the ſalaries of the officers of the four new courts of admiralty are fixed, can never vary; that theſe ſalaries ariſe, in the firſt place, from the produce of the forfeitures; that if any deficiency remain, that deficiency is made good out of the produce of the old naval ſtores: they forgot to tell us, that this is a fund purely Britiſh: they forgot to point out to us how beneficial an improvement was hereby made on the inſtitution of the ancient courts of admiralty. They forgot to tell us, that the ſalaries of the officers of the ancient courts were not limited; that they aroſe entirely from a certain rate aſſeſſed upon the forfeitures: — were the forfeitures many and conſiderable? the ſalaries roſe; — were they few and inconſiderable? the ſalaries fell. — See now the mighty injury done to the colonies: Juſtice is brought home to them; the means of acquiring it are at hand, and cheap: The temptations to injuſtice removed from the officers: To the ſalary of the officers no honeſt citizen in America is to contribute. Of one claſs of people, and of one only, can they devour the ſubſiſtence: Will the Americans confeſs, that the claſs of ſmugglers is ſo numerous in that country, as to intitle them to be called — by way of eminence — *the people?*

* In a petition from New York, recited in "the Adminiſtration of the Colonies," vol. 1. p. 266.

Art. XI. He has kept among us in times of peace ſtanding armies, without the conſent of our legiſlatures.

Ans. To this article, a fuller and more complete anſwer cannot perhaps be given, than what has already been furniſhed by one of the warmeſt advocates of the colonials.

In a bill brought into the Houſe of Lords by this diſtinguiſhed perſonage, it was thought neceſſary to animadvert upon this pretenſion of the Americans, viz. "That the keeping a ſtanding army within any of the colonies in the time of peace, without conſent of the reſpective provincial aſſembly there, is againſt law." High as be the eſteem which the framer of this bill profeſſes to entertain for America; yet too ſenſible is he, not to think his ſelf bound to guard againſt the pretence ſo arrogantly ſet up by theſe local, ſubordinate legiſlatures, of dictating to his Majeſty in what parts of his empire he may or may not ſtation his troops. Againſt this unconſtitutional claim, one article of the bill was directly levelled. It is there aſſerted, — "That the declaration of right at the ever-glorious revolution," namely, "That the raiſing and keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom in time of peace, unleſs it be by conſent of parliament, is againſt law," "had reference only to the conſent of the parliament of Great Britain:" It is there aſſerted, that "the legal, conſtitutional, and hitherto unqueſtioned, prerogative of the crown, to ſend any part of ſuch army, ſo lawfully kept, to any of the Britiſh dominions and poſſeſſions, whether in America, or elſewhere, as his Majeſty, in the due care of his ſubjects, may judge neceſſary for the ſecurity and protection of the ſame, cannot be rendered dependent upon the conſent of a provincial aſſembly in the colonies, without a moſt dangerous innovation, and derogation from the dignity of the imperial crown of Great Britain." [xxxvii. 84.]

To ſtop here, would be to do injuſtice to his Majeſty: to ſtate, that in doing what he did, he exerciſed only a prerogative, legal, conſtitutional, and hitherto unqueſtioned, is indeed fully to defend the meaſure; is to obviate every legal objection

objection that can be made to it. But this is not enough: the meaſure deſerved praiſe. Conſider a moment: When was it that theſe troops were ſtationed in America? At the cloſe of the laſt war. During that war, Great Britain had paid an immenſe army of foreign troops; had given large ſubſidies to the princes of Germany. To provide for the payment of theſe troops, and ſubſidies, ſhe had almoſt doubled her debt. The intereſt of this debt is to be paid; the principal, gradually to be ſunk by taxes to be levied on the ſubjects reſiding in Great Britain. During the ſame war, Great Britain had embodied and paid a militia of more than 30,000 men. To raiſe this militia, the ableſt hands were taken from the farmer and the manufacturer of Britain; to pay them, the purſes of the Britiſh ſubjects were drained; to find them winter-quarters, the houſes of Britiſh ſubjects were crowded. To what purpoſe this profuſion of expence? theſe preternatural exertions of power? To comply with the prayers of America *; to conquer the enemies of America †: How, mean time, was the bulk and the flower of the national regular troops employed? How, but in fighting the battles of America? What remained of theſe gallant troops, after the multitude who had ſhed their blood in the cauſe of America, were there at the end of the war. And was it too much to expect that theſe troops ſhould be ſtationed for a while in a country which they had ſo gallantly defended? Surely it was but juſt in his Majeſty ſo to ſtation his troops, that they who had reaped the greateſt advantages from their courage in time of war, ſhould contribute a little to their convenience in time of peace.

It is not now the legality of the meaſure we are defending, it is the wiſdom, the policy of it. Here then we may add, that, during the courſe of the war, his Majeſty's dominions in America had been extended, new countries acquired, new ſubjects ſubmitted to his government. It was but common policy to maintain ſuch a force, in the neighbourhood of countries ſo lately acquired, as might enſure the allegiance of ſubjects who had ſo lately ſubmitted.

Nor is this all: Peace was reſtored to Europe, but not to America: the French had laid down their arms, not to the Indians; they continued their incurſions and depredations on the provinces of Virginia and Pennſylvania. To quell the Indians, to drive them from the very people who now complain that the troops were ſtationed there, were thoſe very troops employed. In what they call a time of peace, a war was waging in their behalf, by the troops of the crown, at the ſole expence of the crown.

ART. XII. He has affected to render the military independent of, and ſuperior to, the civil power.

ANS. To what act of his preſent Majeſty's government this general charge, unſupported by any proof, by the ſhadow even of a proof, can be meant to allude, is more than I can take upon me to determine, or even to gueſs. By what act has his Majeſty declared, that the ſoldiers of any regiment or corps, that the officers, that the commander in chief, ſhould be unamenable to the civil courts for civil offences? Has not one officer been tried for his life [xxxii. 678.]? How then has he affected to render the military independent of the civil power? If dependent on the civil power, they cannot be ſuperior to it.

In civil matters they are dependent on the civil magiſtrate; the powers only which are neceſſary for the diſcipline and government of the troops, are lodged in the hands of a commander in chief. In the ſame hands were they lodged during the reign of his Majeſty's royal grandfather

* In the year 1754, the colonies acknowledged his Majeſty's "paternal care for the ſecurity of his good ſubjects of the provinces;" repreſented, that "the encroachments of the French threatened great danger, and perhaps, in time, even the entire deſtruction of the colonies, without the interpoſition of his Majeſty, notwithſtanding any proviſion they could make to prevent it;" humbly profeſſed "their reliance on his Majeſty's paternal goodneſs, that he would take effectual meaſures for the removal of the French." (See addreſſes of the provinces of Maſſachuſet's and Virginia, and of the commiſſioners aſſembled at Albany in 1754.) — Since the cauſe of their fear is removed, they have diſcovered, that it is all a miſtake; that they never had cauſe of fear; and, conſequently, that they can be under no obligation to us for having removed what never exiſted.

† The great conductor of the laſt war juſtified the employing ſo many troops and paying ſuch large ſubſidies, in Germany, on this very ground: "America, he ſaid, was conquered in Germany." [xxiv. 354.]

ther. There his preſent Majeſty found, and there he left them.

It was during the late reign, in the year 1756, that a commander in chief of the forces in America was firſt appointed: the firſt commiſſion was given to Lord Loudon *: and that commiſſion was drawn up by a man diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge as a ſtateſman, his abilities as a lawyer, and yet more diſtinguiſhed by his zealous attachment to the conſtitution of this country, (Lord Hardwicke). He at that time held the ſeals: he affixed them to the commiſſion. The form of the commiſſion, the powers conveyed by it, remain the ſame to this hour: by his preſent Majeſty no alteration has been made; no new powers have been conveyed to the commander in chief.

ART. XIII. He has combined with others to ſubject us to a juriſdiction foreign to our conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his aſſent to their pretended acts of legiſlation.

ANS. Here it is that the congreſs throws of the maſk. Thoſe who are ſo reſpectfully deſcribed by the term of *others*, with whom the King is ſo reſpectfully ſaid to have *combined*, and to whoſe juriſdiction the purpoſe of this combination is to ſubject the Americans, are the Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

Here then it is that the authority of parliament is totally and fully diſclaimed; the exerciſe of that authority is declared to be, and ever to have been, an uſurpation; all acts of parliament are ranked indiſcriminately under the appellation of *pretended* acts of legiſlation: they are not marked as exertions of a power, legal indeed, but from the abuſe of it become tyrannical; and, as ſuch, of a nature to provoke, and by the enormity of them to juſtify, reſiſtance; but as pretended acts of legiſlation, exertions only of a pretended power; and therefore, *ab initio*, and of their own nature, void.

Whoſe acts is it that they are ſaid to be? Acts of "a juriſdiction foreign (ſay the congreſs) to our conſtitution." It is the whole juriſdiction then of parliament, and not any one or more particular mode of its being exerciſed, "that is foreign to their conſtitution." The grievance is not any abuſe of the juriſdiction, but the very exerciſe.

As much as this juriſdiction is now foreign to their conſtitution, juſt ſo much it muſt always have been; for they do not, I ſuppoſe, mean to ſpeak of their conſtitution, as of a thing that has ſprung up in the preſent reign. Every act then by which any juriſdiction was ever exerciſed over this people, by any king, in any parliament, has been an act of lawleſs violence, the act of a gang of criminals, a conſpiracy, a combination: The two houſes of parliament are not, nor ever were, legal aſſemblies; not bodies of men characteriſable by any legal name; but unauthoriſed, "unacknowledged," individuals.

Under this load of imputation it muſt be ſome comfort to his Majeſty to find, that, in this inſtance, as in all thoſe which have been already, or will be hereafter, cited, the crimes alledged againſt him are no other than what are common to him with his illuſtrious grandfather, with the whole train of his royal predeceſſors, and with the whole ſucceſſion of Britiſh parliaments. And, in truth, to his Majeſty, in common with theſe illuſtrious partners, may it be imputed, that ill-requited indulgence, and unmerited foſtering care, have pampered a deſperate party among theſe men, till they have at laſt riſen to this enormous pitch of inſolence.

Entertaining, profeſſing to entertain, theſe ſentiments, what diſpoſition there can ever have been in them to acquieſce in any dependence on parliament; what degree of truth there can have been in their frequent acknowledgements of ſubordination to parliament, of their readineſs to ſubmit to, what they called, its legal orders; what degree of ſincerity in thoſe fair offers of reconciliation they ſo lately thought it adviſeable to pretend at leaſt to make, let every loyal American, let the whole Britiſh nation, let all Europe judge.

ART. XIV. For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

ANS. This article, ſo far as it relates to the bare ſtationing of the troops in America, has been already anſwered under the 11th article.

So far as it relates to the providing of quarters for the troops, it ſcarcely deſerves an anſwer. The one is the neceſſary conſequence of the other. If troops may

* His Lordſhip was at the ſame time appointed Governor of Virginia. Sir Jeffery Amherſt ſucceeded him in both theſe employments.

may be ſtationed in America, quarters muſt be provided for them in America. If troops be ſtationed for the purpoſe of protecting a particular place, quarters muſt be provided in, or near that place. If the provincial magiſtrates be either not empowered, or not inclined; and if the provincial aſſemblies will not, or cannot, empower, and even compel the magiſtrates to aſſign ſuch quarters; what is to be done? One only body there is, whoſe controuling power ſuperintends the whole of the empire; that body is the parliament. From parliament therefore the magiſtrate muſt receive thoſe powers which he cannot obtain from the provincial aſſemblies.

Far indeed was the parliament from exerting, on this occaſion, a greater power than other parliaments have exerciſed over other parts of his Majeſty's dominions. But a few years after the revolution, we meet with a vote of the Houſe of Commons, carried afterwards into execution by an act of parliament; by which, not only the number of forces to be kept in Ireland is aſcertained (12,000); but it is enacted likewiſe, that Ireland ſhould — not provide quarters, but—"maintain," ſay the Votes (See Com. Journ. vol. I. p. 50.), "maintain at its ſole charge," (ſays the act, 10° Will. III. c. 1.), the forces in conſequence of this act to be kept in Ireland.

That there was any thing oppreſſive in the mode of quartering, is not pretended; it is the quartering them at all; it is the quartering them there, where their ſervice might be required; that is the grievance alledged. So tender was the Britiſh parliament, ſo very delicate on this head, that, even in the year 1774, when an open rebellion was commenced, when acts of coercion were neceſſary, when the ſevereſt meaſures would have been juſtified, it allowed the commander of the Britiſh forces to deviate from the laws then in force, as to one particular alone. In towns where barracks were built, it left it indeed to his diſcretion to quarter his troops in thoſe barracks, or in the town, as he ſhould judge it moſt convenient for his Majeſty's ſervice. In every other reſpect, he was commanded to quarter and to billet them in ſuch manner as was then directed by law. (See 14° Geo. III. c. 54.)

Art. XV. For protecting them by a mock trial from puniſhment for any murders which they ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe ſtates.

Ans. Were this the firſt humble appeal which the chiefs of the rebellion had made, it would be difficult to gueſs, at what act of his Majeſty's reign this frantic charge could be levelled. — Would any ſober man imagine, that the congreſs were ſpeaking of an act, whoſe avowed and real object is, "the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice;" that they could ſtigmatize, as being made for the expreſs purpoſe of protecting the troops from puniſhment, an act from the very beginning to the end of which, not a word, not a ſyllable occurs about the troops? Yet ſo it is.

The act to which this article alludes, was paſſed in the year 1774 (14° Geo. III. c. 39.). At that time, not only, as it is expreſſed in the preamble, "had an actual and avowed reſiſtance, by open force, to the execution of certain acts of parliament, been ſuffered to take place uncontrouled and unpuniſhed, in defiance of his Majeſty's authority, and to the utter ſubverſion of all lawful government," but farther, the very power of Parliament to paſs theſe acts, or indeed any acts, binding on the colonies, was now as openly called in queſtion.

Under theſe circumſtances what was to be done? Two ways only preſented their ſelves; the one, to repeal the acts, and recall the perſons appointed to carry them into execution; the other, to enforce the acts, and ſupport the perſons.

Thoſe who adviſed, at that moment, and under thoſe circumſtances, to repeal the acts, and recall the perſons, adviſed, in other words, to give up America.

If to that advice no attention could be paid, the laws were not to be repealed; they muſt therefore be enforced: the perſons appointed to carry them into execution were not to be recalled; they muſt therefore be ſupported. How could they be ſupported, unleſs, in the diſcharge of their duty, government held out to them legal protection?

To the execution of the laws, open force had been oppoſed; to thoſe who had attempted to carry the laws into execution, open violence had been offered; the temper of the people was not changed; what had happened would probably happen again; in ſuch caſe, force was to be repelled by force. From ſuch a conflict, deaths might enſue.

If

If in their own defence, if in repelling the lawleſs attacks of men who obſtructed them in the execution of their duty, a magiſtrate, a ſervant of the crown, civil or military, had killed an inſurgent, what would have been his fate? To have been tried by a jury, parties perhaps in the inſurrection, aſſuming as law, that the act commanded by parliament was illegal, and therefore every thing done in defence of it illegal too, and therefore every killing murder.

It was not, in the nature of things, that, under theſe diſcouragements, the ſervants of the crown ſhould diſcharge their duty; the probable alternative was either to be maſſacred by the mob, or murdered by the hands of pretended juſtice.

How were theſe difficulties to be obviated? There have been parliaments, who would have gone a very ſhort way to work; who would not have ſtaid to untie, but would have cut the knot. They would have ſuſpended the ordinary courts of juſtice, appointed ſpecial commiſſioners for the trials of the culprits, or have eſtabliſhed martial law.—Inſtead of this, what was done? The ordinary courts of juſtice were not ſuſpended; no ſpecial commiſſion was appointed; martial law was not eſtabliſhed; the mode of trial was not altered, it was left to a jury; care only was taken, that the jury ſhould be men "moſt ſufficient, and leaſt ſuſpicious *." And that was effected by an expedient practiſed often in England, and in Wales, upon leſs urgent occaſions; practiſed in Scotland, when Scotland was in rebellion [viii. 129.]. The ſcene of trial only, and the perſons of the triers, were changed.

That the intent of the act might not be miſtaken; that it might appear upon the face of it to be adapted only to the then tumultuous ſtate of the colony, it was declared to be a temporary act, to be in force only for three years; to operate only as to perſons acting in their duty as officers of the revenue, or as magiſtrates, or under the order of magiſtrates; nor to extend even to them, but upon information upon oath, that the indictment or appeal is brought for acts committed under theſe circumſtances; upon proof, moreover, that an indifferent trial could not be had on the ſpot.

To ſuffer the trial to take place in the ſcene of inſurrection, in the midſt of the inſurgents; to appoint the inſurgents their ſelves to be judges, would deſerve a ſeverer reproach, even than that which theſe men audaciouſly throw upon his Majeſty.—It would be to command the innocent to be murdered by a mock trial.

ART. XVI. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

ANS. If the cauſe of rebellion admitted of ingenuouſneſs or candour, we might be ſurpriſed at finding this article among the liſt of grievances.—That liſt, we were taught to expect, was to conſiſt of acts of oppreſſion, tending to provoke reſiſtance; and ſee, they give us an act of ſelf-defence, exerted in conſequence of reſiſtance already ſhewn. Have they forgot, or do they wiſh to conceal from their deluded followers, that the duration of this act depends upon their ſelves? Severe though it be not, yet let us allow it to be ſo, the remedy is in their own hands. Let them return to their allegiance, and the act is repealed by itſelf.

Were the effects of this act yet ten times more ruinous than they are, by what right do they complain? Have they forgot that they ſet the example? Before this act took place, they had paſſed acts—to uſe their own phraſe—of *pretended legiſlation*, forbidding, on pain of death, to hold any correſpondence with the people of G. Britain; had iſſued commiſſions for the ſeizure of Britiſh ſhips; had appointed judges, in the different ports, for the condemnation of Britiſh captures [xxxviii. 18. 247.].—That they attempted only to cut off our trade with our own colonies; that they did not attempt to cut off our trade with the other quarters of the world; they will, I preſume, allow to have proceeded from weakneſs, not from goodwill.

ART. XVII. For impoſing, &c.

[*To be continued.*]

* Deſcription of a jury, 28 Edward I c 9. That a jury ſhould be compoſed of men moſt ſufficient, and leaſt ſuſpicious, muſt be always a circumſtance anxiouſly to be deſired; that it ſhould be compoſed of men of the vicinity is often a circumſtance to be as anxiouſly avoided. [iv. 645, 9]

A Diſcourſe on the means of preſerving the health of mariners, continued. [64.]

But if the fixed air and acids are ſuch preſervatives againſt the ſcurvy, why ſhould Capt. Cook make ſo little account of the *rob* of lemons and of oranges (for ſo they have called the extracts or inſpiſſated juices of thoſe fruits) in treating that diſtemper? This I found was the reaſon. Theſe preparations being only ſent out upon trial, the ſurgeon of the ſhip was told, at a conjecture, how much he might give for a doſe, but without ſtrictly limiting it. The experiment was made with the quantity ſpecified; but with ſo little advantage, that, judging it not adviſeable to loſe more time, he ſet about the cure with the wort only, of the efficacy whereof he was certain; whilſt he reſerved theſe robs for other purpoſes, more particularly for colds, when, to a large draught of warm water, with ſome ſpirits and ſugar, he added a ſpoonful of one of them, and with this compoſition made a grateful ſudorific, which anſwered the intention. No wonder then if Capt. Cook, not knowing the proper doſe of theſe concentrated juices for the ſcurvy, but ſeeing them fail as they were given in the trial, ſhould entertain no great opinion of their antiſcorbutic powers. It may be alſo proper to take notice, that as they had been reduced to a ſmall proportion of their bulk by evaporation upon fire, it is probable, they were much weakened by that proceſs, and that with their aqueous parts they had loſt not a little of their aerial, on which ſo much of their antiſeptic virtue depended. If therefore a farther trial of theſe excellent fruits were to be made, it would ſeem more adviſeable to ſend to ſea the purified juices entire in caſks, agreeably to a propoſal I find hath been made to the Admiralty by an ingenious and experienced navy-ſurgeon ſome years ago. For, in truth, the teſtimonies in favour of the ſalutary qualities of theſe acids are ſo numerous, and ſo ſtrong, that I ſhould look upon ſome failures, even in caſes where their want of ſucceſs cannot ſo well be accounted for as in this voyage, not a ſufficient reaſon for ſtriking them out of the liſt of the moſt powerful preſervatives againſt this conſuming malady of ſailors.

It may be obſerved, that Capt. Cook ſays not more in praiſe of vinegar than of the robs; yet I would not thence infer, that he made no account of that acid; but only, that as he happened in this voyage to be ſparingly provided with it, and yet did well, he could not conſider a large ſtore of it to be ſo material an article of proviſion as was commonly imagined. And though he ſupplied its place in the meſſes of the men with the acid of the ſour-krout, and truſted chiefly to fire for purifying his decks, yet it is to be hoped that future navigators will not therefore omit it. Vinegar will ſerve at leaſt for a wholeſome variety in the ſeaſoning of the ſalted meats, and may be ſometimes ſucceſsfully uſed as a medicine, eſpecially in the aſperſions of the berths of the ſick. It is obſervable, that though the ſmell be little grateful to a perſon in health, yet it is commonly agreeable to thoſe who are ſick, and particularly to ſuch as are confined to a foul and crouded ward. There the phyſician will ſmell to vinegar, as much for pleaſure as for guarding againſt infection.

Now the wort and the acid juices were only diſpenſed as medicines, but the next article was of more extenſive uſe. This was the *ſour krout*, (ſour cabbage), a diſh of univerſal requeſt in Germany. The acidity is acquired by its ſpontaneous fermentation, and it was the ſour taſte which made it the more acceptable to all who ate it. To its farther commendation we may add, that it held out good to the laſt of the voyage.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that though this herb hath had ſuch high encomiums beſtowed upon it by the ancients, (witneſs what Cato the elder and Pliny the naturaliſt ſay on the ſubject), and hath had the ſanction of the experience of nations for ages in its favour, it ſhould yet be diſapproved of by ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed writers of our times. One finds it yield a rank ſmell in decoction, which he confounds with that of putrefaction. Another analyſes it, and diſcovers ſo much groſs air in the compoſition as to render it indigeſtible; yet this flatulence, ſo much decried, muſt now be acknowledged to be the fixed air, which makes the cabbage ſo wholeſome when fermented. Nay it hath been traduced by one of the moſt celebrated phyſicians of our age, as partaking of a poiſonous nature: and little better founded was that poſition of the ſame illuſtrious author, that cabbage being an adoleſcent plant, and therefore diſpoſing

to putrefaction, could never be uſed in the ſcurvy, except when the diſeaſe proceeded from an acid. But the experiments which I formerly laid before the Society evinced this vegetable, with the reſt of the ſuppoſed alcaleſcents, to be really aceſcent; and that the ſcurvy never is owing to acidity, but, much otherwiſe, to a ſpecies of putrefaction, that very cauſe of which the ill-grounded chiefs of alcaleſcents was ſuppoſed to be a promoter *.

Among other of the late improvements of the naval ſtores, we have heard much of the *portable ſoup*; and accordingly we find that Capt. Cook hath not a little availed himſelf of it in his voyage. This concentrated broth being freed from all fat, and having by long boiling evaporated the moſt putreſcent parts of the meat, is reduced to the conſiſtence of a glue: which in effect it is; and will like other glues, in a dry place, keep ſound for years together. It hath been ſaid, that broths turn ſour on keeping, tho' made without any vegetable †. Now whether any real acid be thus formed may be a queſtion: I incline at leaſt to believe, that the gelatinous parts of animal ſubſtances, ſuch as compoſe theſe cakes, are not of a nature much diſpoſed to putrefy. But however that may be, ſince Capt. Cook obſerves, that this ſoup was the means of making his people eat a greater quantity of greens than they would have done otherwiſe, in ſo far we muſt allow it to have been virtually antiſeptic.

So much for thoſe articles that have of late been ſupplied to all the King's ſhips on long voyages, and in which therefore our worthy brother claims no other merit than the prudent diſpenſation of them; but what follows, being regulations either wholly new, or improven hints from ſome of his experienced friends, he may juſtly appropriate to himſelf.

Firſt, then, he put his people at three watches inſtead of two, (which is the general practice at ſea); that is, he divided the whole crew into three companies, and by putting each company upon the watch by turns, four hours at a time, every man had eight hours free, for four of duty; whereas, at watch and watch, the half of the men being upon duty at once, with returns of it every four hours, they can have but broken ſleeps; and when expoſed to wet, they have not time to get dry before they lie down. When the ſervice requires it, ſuch hardſhips muſt be endured; but when there is no preſſing call, ought not a mariner to be refreſhed with as much uninterrupted reſt as a common day-labourer?

I am well informed, that an officer diſtinguiſhes himſelf in nothing more than in preſerving his men from wet, and the other injuries of the weather. Theſe were moſt eſſential points with this humane commander. In the torrid zone he ſhaded his people from the ſcorching ſun by an awning over his deck; and in his courſe under the antarctic circle he had a coat provided for each man, of a ſubſtantial woollen ſtuff, with the addition of a hood for covering their heads. This garb (which the ſailors called their *Magellan jacket*) they occaſionally wore; and found it a moſt comfortable one for working in rain and ſnow, and among the broken ice in the high latitudes of the South.

Let us proceed to another article not leſs material; which is the care to keep clean the perſons, bedding, and cloaths of the ſailors. The Captain acquainted me, that regularly one morning in the week he paſſed his ſhip's company in review, and ſaw that every man had changed his linen, and was in other reſpects as clean and neat as circumſtances would permit. It is well known how much cleanlineſs is conducive to health; but it is not ſo obvious how much it alſo tends to good order, and other virtues. That diligent officer was perſuaded, (nor was perhaps the obſervation new), that ſuch men as he could induce to be more cleanly than they were diſpoſed to be of themſelves, became at the ſame time more ſober, more orderly, and more attentive to their duty. It muſt be acknowledged, that a ſeaman has but indifferent means to keep himſelf clean, had he the greateſt inclination to do it: for I have not heard that the commanders of ſhips have yet availed themſelves of the *ſtill* for providing freſh water for waſhing; and it is well known that ſea-water doth not mix with ſoap, and that linen wet with brine never thoroughly dries. But for Capt. Cook, the frequent opportunities

* See this remark more at large, Diſ. of the Army, App. pap. 7.

† La ſeule matiere qui s'aigriſſe dans le ſang eſt la matiere gelatineuſe, &c. *Senac, Structure du Cœur*, l. 3. ch. 4. § 5.

opportunities he had of taking in water among the iſlands of the South ſea, enabled him in that tract to diſpenſe to his ſhip's company freſh water for every uſe; and when he navigated in the high latitudes of the ſouthern oceans, he ſtill more abundantly provided them with it, as I ſhall take notice in the ſequel of this diſcourſe.

Of the hammocks and bedding I need ſay little, as all officers are now ſenſible how much it concerns the health of their people to have this part of a ſhip's furniture kept dry and well-aired; ſince by the perſpiration of ſo many men, every thing below, even in the ſpace of twenty-four hours, is apt to contract an offenſive moiſture. But Capt. Cook was not ſatisfied with ordering upon deck the hammocks and bedding every day that was fair, (the common method), but took care that each bundle ſhould be unlaſhed, and ſo ſpread out that every part of it might be expoſed to the air.

His next concern was, to ſee to the purity of the ſhip itſelf; without which attention all the reſt would have profited little. I ſhall not however detain you with his orders about waſhing and ſcraping his decks, as I do not underſtand that in that kind of cleanſing he excelled others; but ſince he has laid ſo great a ſtreſs upon *fire* as a purifier, I ſhall endeavour to explain his way of uſing it, more fully than he has done in his paper. Some wood being put into a proper ſtove or grate, is lighted, and carried ſucceſſively to every part below deck. Where-ever fire is, the air neareſt to it being heated becomes ſpecifically lighter, and, by being lighter, riſes and paſſes through the hatchways into the atmoſphere. The vacant ſpace is filled with the cold air around; and that being heated in its turn, in like manner aſcends, and is replaced by other air as before. Thus by continuing the fire for ſome time in any of the lower apartments, the foul air is in a meaſure driven out, and the freſh admitted. This is not all: I apprehend that the acid ſteams of the wood, in burning, act here as an antiſeptic on the corrupted air that remains.

An officer of diſtinguiſhed rank, another of Capt. Cook's experienced friends, mentioned to me a common and juſt obſervation in the fleet; which was, that all the old twenty-gun ſhips were remarkably leſs ſickly than thoſe of the ſame ſize of a modern conſtruction. This, he ſaid, was a circumſtance he could not otherwiſe account for, than that, by the former having their *galley* (their kitchen) in the fore-part of the orlop, the chimney vented ſo ill, that it was ſure to fill every part with ſmoke whenever the wind was aſtern: this was a nuiſance for the time, but, as he thought, abundantly compenſated by the extraordinary good health of the ſeveral crews. Poſſibly the heat of thoſe fire-places was alſo beneficial, by drying and ventilating thoſe ſhips more when they were below, than they can do now they are placed upon the upper deck under the fore-caſtle.

But the moſt obvious uſe of the portable fires was their drying up the moiſture, and eſpecially in thoſe places where there was the leaſt circulation of air. This humidity, compoſed of the perſpirable matter of a multitude of men, and often of animals (kept for a live-ſtock), and of the ſteams of the bilge-water from the well, where the corruption is the greateſt; this moiſture, I ſay, being one of the main ſources of ſea-diſeaſes, was therefore more particularly attended to, in order to its removal. The fires were the powerful inſtrument for that purpoſe; and whilſt they burnt, ſome men were employed in rubbing hard, with canvaſs or oakum, every part of the inſide of the ſhip that was damp and acceſſible. But the advantage of fire appears no where ſo manifeſt as in cleanſing the well; for this being in the loweſt part of the hold, the whole leakage runs into it, whether of the ſhip itſelf, or of the caſks of ſpoilt meats or corrupted water. The mephitic vapours from this ſink alone, have often been the cauſe of inſtantaneous death to thoſe who have unwarily approached to clean it; and not to one only, but to ſeveral ſucceſſively, when they have gone down to ſuccour their unfortunate companions: yet this very place has not only been rendered ſafe but ſweet, by means of an iron pot filled with fire, and let down to burn in it.

When, from the circumſtances of the weather, this ſalutary operation could not take place, the ſhip was fumigated with gunpowder, as deſcribed in the paper; though that ſmoke could have no effect in drying, but only in correcting the corruption of the air, by means of the acid ſpirits from the ſulphur and

nitre, aided perhaps by ſome ſpecies of an aerial fluid, then diſengaged from them, to counteract putrefaction. But as theſe purifications by gunpowder, as well as by burning tar and other reſinous ſubſtances, are ſufficiently known, I ſhall not inſiſt longer on them here.

Among the ſeveral means of ſweetening or renewing the air, we ſhould expect to hear of Dr Hales's *ventilator*. I muſt confeſs it was my expectation; and therefore, perſuaded as I was of the excellence of the invention, it was not without much regret that I ſaw ſo good an opportunity loſt of giving the fame favourable impreſſion of it to the public. If a degree of ſucceſs exceeding our moſt ſanguine hopes, is not ſufficient for juſtifying the omiſſion of a meaſure deemed to be one of the moſt eſſential for attaining an end, I would plead in favour of our worthy brother, that by a humiliating fatality, ſo often accompanying the moſt uſeful diſcoveries, the credit of this ventilator is yet far from being firmly eſtabliſhed in the navy. What wonder, then, if Capt. Cook, being ſo much otherwiſe taken up, ſhould not have had time to examine it, and therefore avoided the encumbering of his ſhip with an apparatus he had poſſibly never ſeen uſed, and of which he had at beſt received but a doubtful character? Nor was he altogether unprovided with a machine for ventilation. He had the *wind-ſails*, though he hath not mentioned them in his paper; and he told me, that he had found them at times moſt ſerviceable, and particularly between the Tropics. They have the merit of taking up little room; they require no labour in working; and the contrivance is ſo ſimple, that they can fail in no hands; but their powers are ſmall, in compariſon with thoſe of the ventilator; they cannot be put up in hard gales of wind; and they are of no efficacy in dead calms, when a refreſhment of the air is moſt wanted. Should there be any objection to the employing both?

Such were the meaſures taken by our ingenious navigator for procuring a purity of air. It remains only to ſee in what manner he ſupplied pure water; another article of ſo great moment, that the thirſty voyager, upon his ſalt and putrid diet, with a ſhort allowance of this element, and that in a corrupted ſtate, muſt account a plentiful proviſion of freſh and ſweet water to be indeed *the beſt of things*.

Capt. Cook was not without an apparatus for diſtilling ſea-water; and though he could not obtain nearly ſo much as was expected from the invention, yet he ſometimes availed himſelf of it; but for the moſt of his voyage he was otherwiſe provided. Within the Southern Tropic, in the Pacific ocean, he found ſo many iſlands, and thoſe ſo well ſtored with ſprings, that, as I have hinted before, he never was without a ſufficiency of water for every neceſſary purpoſe. But not ſatisfied with plenty, he would have the ſweeteſt; and therefore, whenever an opportunity offered, he emptied what he had taken in but a few days before, and filled his caſks anew. But was he not above four months in his paſſage from the Cape of Good Hope to New Zealand, in the frozen zone of the South, without once ſeeing land? And did he not actually compleate his circumnavigation, in that high latitude, without the benefit of a ſingle fountain? Here was indeed *a wonder of the deep!* I may call it the romance of his voyage! Thoſe very ſhoals, fields, and floating mountains of ice, among which he ſteered his perilous courſe, and which preſented ſuch terrifying proſpects of deſtruction; thoſe, I ſay, were the very means of his ſupport, by ſupplying him abundantly with what he moſt wanted. It had been ſaid, that thoſe ſtupendous maſſes of ice, called *mountains*, melted into freſh water; though Crantz, the relater of that paradox, doth not imagine they originate from the ſea; but that they are firſt formed in the great rivers of the North, and being carried down into the ocean, are afterwards increaſed to that enormous height by the ſnow that falls upon them *. But that all frozen ſea-water would thaw into freſh, had either never been aſſerted, or had met with little credit. This is certain, that Capt. Cook expected no ſuch tranſmutation; and therefore was agreeably ſurpriſed to find he had one difficulty leſs to encounter; that of preſerving the health of his men ſo long on ſalt proviſions, with a ſcanty allowance of corrupted water, or what he could procure by diſtillation. The melted ice of the ſea was not only ſweet, but ſoft, and ſo wholeſome as to ſhew, among numerous other inſtances, the fallacy of human reaſon unſupported by experiments. An ancient of great authority had aſſigned, from theory, bad qua-

* Hiſt of Greenland, b. 1. ch. 2. § 11. 12.

lities

lities to melted ſnow; and from that period to the preſent times, this prejudice had not been quite removed.

In this circumnavigation, amidſt fleets and falls of ſnow, fogs, and much moiſt weather, the Reſolution enjoyed the ſame good ſtate of health ſhe had done in the temperate and torrid zones. It appears only from the journal of the ſurgeon, that towards the end of the firſt courſe †, ſome of the crew began to complain of the ſcurvy; but the diſeaſe made little progreſs, except in one who had become early an invalid from another cauſe. The other diſorders were likewiſe inconſiderable, ſuch as common colds, ſlight diarrhœas, and intermittents, as they readily yielded to the bark: there were alſo a few fevers of a continued form, but which by timely care never roſe to an alarming height. Much commendation is therefore due to the attention and abilities of Mr Patten, the ſurgeon of the Reſolution, for having ſo well ſeconded his captain in the diſcharge of his duty. For it muſt be allowed, that in deſpite of the beſt regulations, and the beſt proviſions, there will always be among a numerous crew, during a long voyage, ſome caſualties more or leſs productive of ſickneſs; and that unleſs there be an intelligent medical aſſiſtant on board, many under the wiſeſt commander will periſh that otherwiſe might have been ſaved.

Theſe, Gentlemen, are the reflections I had to lay before you on this intereſting ſubject; and if I have encroached on your time, you will recollect that much of my diſcourſe hath been employed in explaining ſome things but juſt mentioned by Capt. Cook, and in adding the materials which I had procured partly from himſelf, and partly, ſince his departure, from thoſe intelligent friends he alludes to in his paper. This was my plan; which if I have executed to your ſatisfaction, your thanks are due to thoſe gentlemen who, on your account, ſo chearfully communicated to me their obſervations.

As to your acknowledgements to Capt. Cook, and your high opinion of his deſerts, you now teſtify them by the honourable diſtinction ſuggeſted to you by your council, in preſenting him with this medal: for I need not gather your ſuffrages, ſince the attention with which you have favoured me hath abundantly expreſſed your approbation. My ſatisfaction, therefore, had been complete, had he himſelf been preſent to receive the honours you now confer upon him. But you are apprized, that our brave and indefatigable brother is at this inſtant far diſtant from us; anticipating, I may ſay, your wonted requeſt on theſe occaſions, by continuing his labours, for the advancement of natural knowledge, and for the honour of this Society; ſince you may be aſſured, that the object of his new enterpriſe is not leſs great, perhaps ſtill greater, than either of the former.

Allow me then, Gentlemen, to deliver this medal, with his unperiſhing name engraven upon it, into the hands of one who will be happy to receive that truſt, and to know that this reſpectable body never more cordially nor more meritoriouſly beſtowed that faithful ſymbol of their eſteem and affection. For if Rome decreed the *civic crown* to him who ſaved the life of a ſingle citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who, having himſelf ſaved many, perpetuates now in your Tranſactions the means by which Britain may henceforth preſerve numbers of her intrepid ſons, her *Mariners*; who, braving every danger, have ſo liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire of their country!

† viz. the voyage between the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand.

Receipt for the cure of the Gout.

Publiſhed in one of the French papers by order of the College of Phyſicians.

TAke two ounces of gum guaiacum, pound it very fine, and mix the powder with three quarts of rum, in one glaſs veſſel, ſtirring and ſhaking it from time to time. When it has remained ſeven or eight (you may allow ten days in England) in a proper expoſition to the ſun, diſtil the liquor through cotton, or a piece of brown ſinking paper, and bottle the whole, corking it tight. The more you make of it the better, as it improves by being kept. The doſe is one table ſpoonful every morning faſting.— N. B. You muſt be careful to cork the three-quart bottle as cloſe as poſſible; nor fill it quite full, leſt the fermentation of the liquor ſhould cauſe the burſting of the veſſel. Brandy will not anſwer the purpoſe.

PAR-

PARLIAMENT. [92.]

On Thurſday, Feb. 13. the Commons, according to order [92.], went into a committee on the American *Habeas-corpus* bill, and made ſeveral amendments: and it was ordered, "That the report be received to-morrow morning, that the bill be ingroſſed and printed, and that it be read a third time on Monday next."— The committee made the following alterations in the bill.

In the preamble [90.] lin. 6. read,— "committed *on the high ſeas, and* upon, &c.

In § 1. l. 3. read, — "committed in any of his Majeſty's colonies or plantations in America, or on the high ſeas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or ſhall be charged with, or ſuſpected of the crime of high treaſon, committed in any of the ſaid colonies, or on the high ſeas, or of piracy, and who have been or ſhall be committed, in any part of his Majeſty's dominions, for ſuch crimes, or any of them, or for ſuſpicion of ſuch crimes, or any of them, by any magiſtrate having competent authority in that behalf, to the common gaol, or other place of confinement, as is herein after provided for that purpoſe, ſhall and may be thereupon ſecured and detained in ſafe cuſtody, without bail or mainprize, until the firſt day of January 1778; and that no judge or juſtice of peace ſhall bail or try any ſuch perſon or perſons, without order from his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, ſigned by ſix of the ſaid Privy Council, until the ſaid firſt day of January 1778."

Two ſections are here added, viz.

"And whereas it may be neceſſary to provide for ſuch priſoners, within this realm, ſome other places of confinement beſides the common gaols; be it enacted, That it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, by warrant under his ſign-manual, to appoint one or more place or places of confinement, within the realm, for the cuſtody of ſuch priſoners; and all and every magiſtrate or magiſtrates, having competent authority in that behalf, are hereby authoriſed to commit ſuch perſons as aforeſaid to ſuch place or places of confinement ſo to be appointed inſtead of the common gaol.

Provided always, That no offences ſhall be conſtrued to be piracy within the meaning of this act, except acts of felony committed on the ſhips and goods of his Majeſty's ſubjects by perſons on the high ſeas."

The blank in the laſt ſection is filled up by limiting the continuance of the act to Jan 1. 1778.

In the committee there was only one diviſion; in which adminiſtration counted 125, and oppoſition but 25.

On Friday, Feb. 14. the Sheriffs of London preſented to the Commons, a petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of that city, in common council aſſembled, (which had been the ſame day agreed to unanimouſly), againſt this bill, which concluded thus.

"That meaſures ſo violent and unconſtitutional, ſo ſubverſive of the ſacred and fundamental rights of the people, and ſubjecting them to the moſt cruel oppreſſion and bondage, will, in the judgement of your petitioners, be introductive of every ſpecies of miſchief and confuſion, and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

Your petitioners therefore earneſtly beſeech this Honourable Houſe, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law; or at leaſt to take ſuch care as in their wiſdom may ſeem meet, to prevent it from being extended in its operation or conſtruction to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects reſident in theſe kingdoms."

This petition was ordered to lie on the table till the report ſhould be received.

On the report, Mr Powis moved two clauſes: Firſt, "That after the word *piracy*, be inſerted, *againſt his Majeſty's ſubjects*;" which was agreed to: Second, "That no perſon ſhall be detained, unleſs he ſhall be charged to have been reſident in America;" which, on the queſtion put, paſſed in the negative, Ayes 14, Noes 49.

The oppoſition to this bill was the leſs, as a party had ſeceded, under the notion of its being hopeleſs to oppoſe what the miniſtry ſeemed reſolved to carry. Some, however, though their numbers were but few, reſolutely perſevered; among whom, Lord John Cavendiſh, and Meſſ. Dunning, Fox, and Wilkes, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

On Monday, Feb. 17. on the third reading, Mr Dunning moved, That the act ſhould extend only to perſons actually in America at the time the offence with which they ſhall be charged ſhall be committed.— Mr Rigby objected to the act's not being ſufficiently extenſive, rather than to its taking too great a latitude.

tude. He entered into the reaſons of ſuſpending the *Habeas-corpus* act in the years 1745 and 1746, and endeavoured to ſhew, there was not leſs occaſion for it in the preſent conjuncture.— Mr Fox ſaid, that the circumſtance of ſuſpicion alone being a ground of impriſonment, was ſufficient to render the bill obnoxious to every Engliſhman. He expreſſed his wiſh that the Americans might not be extirpated.— Mr Wilmot lamented the preſent horrid ſituation of America; ſaid, he thought this war might have been prevented on the outſet, without any derogation of the honour, dignity, or even intereſt of G. Britain; but that whatever were the cauſes, the ſword was now drawn by America; and that therefore, whilſt that ſword remained unſheathed, he ſincerely wiſhed ſucceſs to his own country: That he felt upon the occaſion as he ſhould do if a dagger was held to his father's breaſt; that in that moment he ſhould forget his blame, defend him from its attack, and reflect on the greater blame of the perſon who held it: That the ſituation we are in towards America could not have been foreſeen, and therefore no proviſion was made for it by the laws at preſent in force: That this bill anſwered the purpoſe, and being freed from the objections to it, had his hearty concurrence.— The attorney-general anſwered all the arguments alledged againſt the bill, but was not very anxious about the ſucceſs of the clauſe, as he ſeemed to think it immaterial either the one way or the other.

The queſtion being put, That this bill do now paſs? the Houſe divided, Ayes 112, Noes 35.

The bill was carried to the Lords on Tueſday Feb. 18. and occaſioned debates in that Houſe likewiſe.— At the ſecond reading, Feb. 20. Lord Coventry begged to be informed by the Lord Chancellor, Whether a man who had never been in America might not be taken into cuſtody by this act? That America was in open rebellion his Lordſhip did not doubt, but he ſaw no reaſon why the ſuſpenſion-bill ſhould extend itſelf here, where no rebellion exiſts.— Anſwer: "If a man has always been an inhabitant of England, moſt certainly he is not excluded the benefit of the *Habeas-corpus* act. But ſuppoſing a perſon has been an inhabitant of America, and comes and reſides here, he might be guilty, and therefore not entitled to the benefit of it. But though this bill takes away the benefit of the *Habeas-corpus* act in America, yet the juſtices of peace here, on a charge made, muſt act as if the bill never had paſſed."— Lord Cov. "Is it underſtood, that the judge or juſtice can or muſt enter into any inquiry, if the perſon ſo ſuſpected, and brought before him, has been in America? for an Engliſhman who has never been out of London might be ſuſpected."— Chanc. "If any ſuch perſon be taken before a juſtice, he may obtain his *Habeas corpus*; he may ſhew cauſe why he ſhould be diſcharged; and if reaſonable cauſe be ſhown, the juſtice muſt diſcharge him."

The bill was paſſed, Feb. 24. without a diviſion.—— But Lord Abingdon entered a proteſt againſt paſſing it, viz.

"*Diſſentit.*

1*ſt*, Becauſe I look upon this bill, not only as a part of that ſyſtem of colony-government, ſo inimical to civil liberty, ſo repugnant to the firſt and fundamental principles of the conſtitution, ſo ruinous in its meaſures, ſo ſhocking to humanity, and ſo averſe from that now exploded virtue of univerſal benevolence; but becauſe I ſee herein that ſyſtem coming home to ourſelves, and with haſty ſteps pointing its daggers even towards the heart of the kingdom.

2*dly*, Becauſe the bill itſelf is attended with powers ſubverſive of and unknown to the laws of the land, by apprehending perſons, it may be, on groundleſs ſuſpicion; by impriſoning perhaps the innocent, without the uſual and neceſſary form of a ſingle oath; and not too in the common jail of the county, but in whatever part of the realm, be it ever ſo diſtant, that perſecution ſhall think fit to adopt.

3*dly*, Becauſe although the ryder which has been added by the other houſe, does in ſome degree abate the rigour of this harſh and alarming bill; yet it does not ſufficiently provide for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, the inhabitants of the Weſt-India iſlands, falling under its baneful operation; nay, even any individual of this country, who ſhall venture on the high ſeas, if only to make the tour of the Hebrides, may become the object of ſuſpicion, and the victim of vengeance.

Laſtly, Becauſe the hour is come, if from motives of policy only, that coercion to lenity ſhould give way.

ABINGDON."

We

We conclude this article with the ſpeech of Mr Wilkes, on the report of the committee being made to the Houſe. [134.]

"Mr Speaker,

I cannot continue ſilent, while the fate of ſo important a bill as the preſent is depending before this Houſe. Adminiſtration at firſt brought in this bill, in a form which gave a very general and juſt alarm to the city, to the nation. If it had paſſed in that form, in my opinion the whole kingdom would have been put under an interdict of law. The perſonal liberty of every man in this iſland had been precarious and inſecure, depending ſolely on the will of the miniſter. The ſpirit of the bill in its original ſtate was oppreſſion and tyranny through every part of the empire. In this ſtate the bill has continued till this day. By the patriotic zeal of an Hon. Gentleman of the law [Mr Dunning] a clauſe has juſt been offered, and adopted by way of ryder, as it is called in this ſtage of the bill, which gives peace of mind and ſecurity, in ſome degree, to every ſubject reſident in this kingdom. Perſons under this deſcription are at length declared not to be the objects of this bill.

This new clauſe, Sir, has happily narrowed the objects of the bill, but in no degree narrowed the proofs, or the nature of the evidence neceſſary. I ſhall therefore give the bill my hearty negative: for I will never conſent to increaſe the enormous power of the crown at the expence of the freedom of the ſubject; I will not arm miniſters with an unconſtitutional power, dangerous to the people. In the preamble to the bill [90.] it is ſaid, "Many perſons have been ſeized and taken, who are expreſsly charged, or ſtrongly ſuſpected, of ſuch treaſons and felonies, and many more ſuch perſons may be hereafter ſo ſeized and taken." In the firſt enacting clauſe of the bill, and throughout, the word *ſtrongly* is omitted, and the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion may warrant the commitment. The words are, "All and every perſon or perſons," (&c. as in the bill.) It is therefore apparent, that a mere pretended ſuſpicion, or fooliſh credulity, or determined villany, in a wretched, ignorant, mercenary tool of a miniſterial magiſtrate, may ſtill render the objects of this bill, who are the inhabitants of above half the empire, liable to impriſonment, and impriſonment without bail or mainprize; for that cruelty was ſtill determined to be exerciſed by the committee, notwithſtanding the humane motion of my worthy colleague to leave out thoſe obnoxious words. There is not a ſyllable in the bill of the degree of probability attending the ſuſpicion. The bill, greatly amended as it has been, does not even now require an oath, nor that the parties ſhould be heard in their own juſtification, nor confronted with the witneſſes; nor does it mention that two witneſſes ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the colourable ground of a commitment for ſo high a crime as treaſon in America, as is the law in other caſes within this kingdom. Is it poſſible, Sir, to give more deſpotic powers to a baſhaw of the Turkiſh empire? What ſecurity is left for the devoted objects of this bill againſt the malice of a prejudiced individual, who, if he is proſecuted afterwards for ſo flagrant an abuſe of power, will certainly be indemnified, probably rewarded, by a moſt arbitrary adminiſtration? Actions may indeed be brought againſt the offender; but we know all damages recovered, however great, are paid by the people [xxxi. 562.], not by the party. Even in the caſe of petit treaſon, by an expreſs act of Edward VI. no perſon can be convicted, but on the oath of two ſufficient and lawful witneſſes, or confeſſion, willingly without violence. So careful, Sir, were our wiſe anceſtors of protecting the liberty of the meaneſt ſubject.

The caſe, Sir, demands our ſtricteſt attention and vigilance, from what we daily experience of the conduct of thoſe underling officers of every miniſter, who traffic and deal out juſtice under the colour of legal magiſtracy. There is now, Sir, actually in Newgate, an American merchant, named *Ebenezer Smith Platt*, who ſtands committed ſo lately as the 23d of laſt January, *charged with high treaſon at Savannah, in the colony of Georgia, in North America*. I never ſaw him, but I have read an atteſted copy of the warrant of his commitment. He is charged generally with *high treaſon*, which I take to be an illegal commitment. I do not pretend, Sir, to a deep knowledge of the law. I have only the attentive reading of a private gentleman. I build my legal faith in ſome known and approved authorities, a Blackſtone, a Burne, and a very few others. Thoſe authors agree, that every warrant of commitment

commitment ought to set forth the cause specially, that is to say, not for treason or felony in general, but for treason in compassing the death of the King, or levying war against his Majesty in the realm, or counterfeiting the King's coin, or felony for stealing the goods of such a one to such a value, and the like. A court may then judge, whether the offence is such, for which a prisoner ought to be admitted to bail. If then a justice, living in the capital, under the immediate eye and direction of ministers, is guilty of such an illegal commitment, what is not to be dreaded from the base engines of power in the more remote counties? Is it possible, Sir, for too great caution to be used, by enforcing in the body of a bill, which is to suspend the *Habeas-corpus* act, the necessity of an oath of two witnesses to the charge, and of their being confronted with the prisoner?

The case of Plat, Sir, gives us an instance of another violation of the law, an evasion of the *Habeas-corpus* act, that holy statute, which ministers hold in abhorrence, and are allowed in England to evade with impunity, in America to suspend for near a twelvemonth. The history of it is this. Plat was first confined to the Antelope for three months, then removed to the Boreas for four weeks, and in her brought in irons to England. On her arrival at Portsmouth, he was removed on board the Centaur for three weeks, then to the Barfleur. On the 4th of January an *Habeas corpus* was obtained, directed to the Captain of the Barfleur; but before it could be served, an express was sent from the treasury by the solicitor, and Plat was removed again to the Centaur before the *Habeas-corpus* could arrive at Portsmouth. The return to the *Habeas-corpus* was thus eluded; but on his friend's being determined to sue out another, Plat was at last sent to the capital, and in the illegal mode which I have stated was committed to Newgate. I speak, Sir, in the hearing of many gentlemen, who ought to contradict me, if I have advanced a single circumstance not founded in truth. Can ministers, Sir, who are capable of thus trampling on our most sacred laws, be too narrowly watched, too deeply suspected, too strongly guarded against? Do we not owe it to the people, to demand every security, from the sanction of an oath, the number of witnesses, the confronting of them with the prisoner, the hearing him in his own justification, and other circumstances, of which not the least trace is to be found in this criminal, arbitrary bill? Is the personal liberty of the subject to rest on the mere pretended suspicion of a man who acts under orders of a professed ministerial agent, ever ready to make his court to power by the sacrifice of public virtue and innocence, whose incapacity perhaps can only be equalled by his meanness, and sordid lust of gain?

I regret, Sir, the indecent rage, the extravagant madness, with which every measure, and in particular the bill in question, has been carried on against the Americans. It precludes every possibility of a reconciliation, so ardently to be wished. Let us advert, Sir, for a moment, to the difference of two cases in point, the suspicion only of high treason in America, and the actual charge of it here. A man only suspected of high treason in America, for instance, the giving aid or assistance to the congress, or to any of the King's enemies, on coming over to England, may be committed to prison, and by this bill continue there without bail or mainprize, or being able to bring on his trial, for near a year, till Jan. 1. 1778, to which time this bill is to continue in force. In this kingdom a man suspected, or even actually charged with high treason, in conspiring the death of the King, or levying war in the realm, may have a *Habeas corpus*, and be bailed by the court of king's-bench. The suspicion therefore of American treason seems a deeper crime, in the judgement of our present ministers, than an overt act of English, or more probably Scottish, treason, or rebellion, against his Majesty's person, title, crown, or dignity. I suppose it is thought, Sir, a deeper crime, because it is more grievously punished. Do we imagine the Americans will not retaliate, or do we vainly hope to intimidate them? Their cause is good, and, after all the idle tales of our late visionary successes, the justice of it must in the end prevail. They are nobly struggling under the sharpest sufferings, but I trust they have zeal and perseverance. In all events the first moment of a foreign war necessarily obliges us to withdraw our fleets and armies, and every part of North America must then be free and independent. This bill will probably be

be answered by a spirited resolution of the congress. Would to God, Sir, our parliament equalled that congress of heroes in wisdom, in love of their country, in uncorruptedness, in public virtue!

The second enacting clause of the bill, Sir, impowers "his Majesty, by warrant under his sign-manual, to appoint one or more place or places of confinement, within the realm, for the custody of such prisoners: and all and every magistrate or magistrates, having competent authority in that behalf, are hereby authorised to commit such persons as aforesaid to such place or places of confinement so to be appointed, instead of the common gaol." This clause may operate, Sir, in a manner more to be dreaded than any banishment, or confinement out of the realm; and a power which may be grossly abused, ought not to be trusted to any man. A person only suspected, or pretended to be so, may be doomed to the dampest, most noxious dungeon, on the most swampy coast. He may be stifled in a vault, *to whose foul mouth no healthsome air breathes in*. I, Sir, perhaps may at last be suspected, and possibly it will not be a slight suspicion. I have formerly experienced an illegal, close, and rigorous imprisonment [xxx. 374.]; but by this bill I may be sent to the barbarous Highlands of Scotland, or among the savages in the dreary isle of Bute, from whose *bourne* I am sure I should never return, even as a traveller, much less as a prisoner. It is ingeniously meant, Sir, as a new mode of repeopling that ancient kingdom.

Much has been said, Sir, both in the committee and in the house, about a dictator, and his extensive powers. Many periods of the Roman history have been retailed out to us minutely enough. Comparisons between that virtuous republic, and this corrupt monarchy, are generally more brilliant than solid, more learned than just. A Rt Hon. Gentleman [Mr Conway] under the gallery, has also observed, that our glorious deliverer, K. William III. was a dictator here after the suspension of the *Habeas-corpus* act in his reign. Should the present bill for the suspension of that act pass into a law, I shall regard the Noble Lord with the blue ribbon as the modern dictator of this great empire, as possessed of the most ample and despotic powers. The first act of business in an ancient dictator, I remember, was to name his coadjutor in office, his *Magister Equitum*, his *General of Horse*. If public gratitude has any weight with him, I am sure for such an office he will immediately turn his eyes to the Noble Lord * now so near him, who, to his immortal honour, with great and invincible courage, advanced and charged the enemies of our country at the head of the British horse. In one particular respecting the dictator of ancient times, I beg to set right a very high law-officer † among us. All the Roman magistrates were not, as he says, superseded by that creation. The *Tribunes of the People*, but they alone, preserved their authority, even under a dictator.

It has been said, Sir, by another gentleman, who is likewise in a great law-office ‡, that in this House a discontented party have ridiculously given into a tone of prophecy, which has never been accomplished; and that particularly about a year ago it was the case of the Rt Hon. Gentleman who spoke lately under the gallery. It is not, I believe, very parliamentary to quote words spoken in a former debate. But if that member's memory goes to a prophecy of one year, which has not been fulfilled, he will permit mine a fair excursion to another prophecy of that very member, six years ago, which has been exactly verified. His prophecy in this House was, that if the same violent measures against the Americans were persisted in, the colonies, which formed so great a strength to this kingdom in the reign of George II. would be dissevered from the British empire in the reign of George III. No prophecy, Sir, ever received a more perfect accomplishment. He wonderfully possesses the second sight of his native country. How deeply criminal he and others have been in the bringing this prophecy to pass, I hope this House will one day inquire. A very extraordinary observation of the same gentleman in the present debate, amid a variety of heterogeneous matter, it is impossible for me not to mention. He has laughed at universal benevolence, and endeavoured to demonstrate the impossibility of its existence. But, Sir, he has only given us the narrow, contracted, selfish ideas of his own heart, and

* Lord George Germaine, in 1759 Lord George Sackville [xxi 431.]

† Attorney-General, Mr Thurlow

‡ Solicitor-General, Mr Wedderburne.

his

his own country. His ſentiments and his feelings are confined to a very ſmall inſignificant circle indeed: they are merely Cambriſh and Scottiſh. His remarks I ſaw excited a general indignation among us. An Engliſhman has ideas infinitely more liberal and enlarged. His heart expands itſelf, and takes in the general good and proſperity of all mankind. It feels not the rancour, and diſclaims the injuſtice, of ſuch a cruel, perſecuting bill, as that now before us, but forms the warmeſt wiſhes for the liberty and happineſs of every individual of this late flouriſhing empire. Univerſal benevolence, and a general ſpirit of humanity, have been no leſs the characteriſtics of the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of this iſland, than that good nature for which foreigners have not even a name. I will only add, Sir, that I think the moſt beautiful ſentence of all antiquity, is that which was received with ſuch applauſe by the generous and free Roman people, and an Engliſh ſenate I am ſure will adopt againſt every meaſure of oppreſſion and cruelty, *Homo ſum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

Extract of a letter from St Germains.

AN Engliſh gentleman a few days ago came to our Vauxhall with a large maſtiff, which was refuſed admittance, and the gentleman left him to the care of the body-guards who are placed there. The gentleman, ſome time after he had gained admittance, returned, and informed the guards, that he had loſt his watch; and told the ſerjeant, that if he would permit him to take in the dog, he would ſoon diſcover the thief. His requeſt being granted, the gentleman made motions to the dog of what he had loſt; who immediately ran about amidſt the company, and traverſed the gardens, till at laſt he laid hold of a man. The gentleman inſiſted, that that perſon had got his watch; and on being ſearched, not only that watch, but ſix others, were diſcovered in his pockets. What is more remarkable, the dog poſſeſſed that perfection of inſtinct as to take his maſter's watch from the other ſix, and carry it to him.

ANECDOTE.

CLOSTERMAN, being jealous of the fame of Kneller, to whom, though a good painter, he was inferior, ſent Sir Godfrey a challenge to paint a picture with him for a wager. Sir Godfrey wiſely declined the conteſt, and ſent him word, he allowed him to be his ſuperior.

AMERICA. [89.]

From the London Gazette, March 22.

Extract of a letter from the Hon. General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New York, Feb. 12. 1777.

"The diſpoſition of the troops in this quarter having undergone little alteration ſince my laſt diſpatch [76.], I have only to adviſe your Lordſhip of the return of a brigade of Britiſh, and ſome companies of grenadiers and light infantry, from Rhode iſland, to ſtrengthen Lord Cornwallis's corps in Jerſey, in order to enable his Lordſhip, with more ſecurity to the poſts of Brunſwick and Amboy, to make a movement, when the weather proves favourable, againſt the enemy ſtill remaining at Morriſtown.

Lt-Gen. Clinton being gone to England, Lord Percy has ſucceeded to the command of Rhode iſland; and has with him Maj.-Gen. Preſcot, one troop of the 17th light dragoons, one brigade of Britiſh, and two of Heſſians.

His Excellency Gov. Tryon has offered his ſervices in the command of a corps of Provincials for the enſuing campaign; and, preſuming this meaſure will be approved by his Majeſty, I ſhall endeavour to place ſuch a corps under his command as may be of eſſential uſe in the proſecution of the war.

Maj. Gen. Robertſon, who will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch, can give your Lordſhip the beſt information reſpecting the preſent ſtate of this country."

Maj.-Gen. Robertſon, who left New York the 18th of February, and by whom the letter of which the above is an extract, has been received, gives an account of ſeveral advantages gained by parties compoſed of Britiſh and Heſſian troops, employed in eſcorting convoys in the Jerſeys, over large bodies of the rebels, by which they had been attacked: particularly, that a party of the 42d, which was eſcorting ſome forage-waggons from Brunſwick, having been attacked by a great number of the rebels, Sir William Erſkine marched out with a detachment to their relief, and taking a poſition which placed the rebels between two fires, obliged them to retreat in great confuſion, leaving between 3 and 400 dead upon the ſpot:

"That a conſiderable number of the re-

bels having appeared on the heights above the light-house at Sandy Hook, Maj. Gordon, with 200 men, landed behind them, attacked and defeated them, killing several, and taking 74 prisoners, which had occasioned the rebels to abandon all that part of Monmouth county:

That the Hessian soldiers that had fought their way through the rebels at Trenton [76.], and come to New York, had requested Gen. Howe to send them back into the Jerseys, that they might have a share in any service that the season would admit of; with which the General had complied, and they were sent back accordingly:

That the rebels on the West-Chester side, had collected all the militia they could draw together from the New-England provinces and the western parts of New York, bringing with them a number of empty waggons, in expectation of plundering the inhabitants of New York island, and had appeared before Fort Independence near King's bridge, which they summoned to surrender; but, upon receiving some cannon-shot from the place, and perceiving the disposition making by Gen. Knyphausen, who commands at King's-bridge, for attacking them, they withdrew with their waggons, and dispersed:

That Gen. Howe proposed passing over from New York into the Jerseys on the 18th of February, having ordered the troops which were returned from Rhode island to disembark at Amboy:

That all his Majesty's ships fit for sea were kept out cruising, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and had taken and sent into New York near two hundred full of prizes:

That although when the King's troops took possession of the city of New York, it was found almost without inhabitants, the eagerness of the people to return under his Majesty's government was such, that the number of inhabitants on the 17th of February, amounted to upwards of 11,000: That they kept constant watch, and patrolled the city night and day, to guard against any further attempts of rebel-incendiaries [80.], and that their zeal and alertness had prevented any late material injury to the city or shipping from fire:

That the congress, after declaring Gen. Washington Dictator of the American States for six months, had withdrawn to Baltimore in Maryland, leaving a committee at Philadelphia to assist him with their advice.

Governor Tryon to Lord George Germaine.

"My Lord, *New York, Feb.* 11. 1777.

The success that accompanied my endeavour to unite the inhabitants of this city, by an oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Majesty and his government, has met my warmest wishes, 2970 of the inhabitants having qualified thereto in my presence. The Mayor, Recorder, and Alderman Waddle, were employed in administering the oath.

I have the satisfaction to assure your Lordship, as the invitation to the people to give this voluntary testimony of their loyalty to his Majesty and his government, was made even without a shadow of compulsion, it gave me peculiar satisfaction to see the chearfulness with which they attended the summons. I verily believe there are not one hundred citizens who have not availed themselves of the opportunity of thus testifying their attachment to government. The Mayor, since I went through the several wards, has attested fifty more men, (and is daily adding to the number), which makes the whole sworn in the city 3020; which, added to those attested on Staten island, in the three counties in Long island, and in West-Chester county, (all which amounted to upwards of 2600), makes the whole amount to 5600 men.

Thus, my Lord, I have used my best endeavours to secure the fidelity of the inhabitants of this government, within those districts through which the King's troops have moved. I have assured the General, that, should he remove all his troops from this city, there would not be the least risk of a revolt from the inhabitants; but, on the contrary, was confident large numbers would take a share in the defence of the town against the rebels.

The loyal inhabitants of Queen's county received the 800 stand of arms, distributed by the General's permission, with demonstrations of joy, and with a professed resolution to use them in defence of the island.

I am anxious that some grace from government may speedily be extended to this loyal quarter of the province.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Tryon.

The following account of the taking of

of Gen. Lee [75.] is published by order of the congress.

"*Hartford, Dec.* 23. On Friday, the 13th instant, about eleven o'clock, his Excellency General Lee being at a house in Baskinridge, in New Jersey, at a great distance from the enemy's army, the house was, on a sudden, surrounded by sixty of the light horse, who immediately fired sixty or seventy shot into the house; when his Excellency, seeing there was not a possibility of making his escape, surrendered himself a prisoner of war. Upon this, the enemy mounted him upon a horse, without hat or cloke, and rode off with the utmost expedition. — Intelligence of Gen. Lee's unguarded situation was given to the enemy the evening before by an inhabitant of Baskinridge, personally known to the General, and who had made great pretensions of friendship for the American cause, though, at heart, the greatest villain that ever existed. This Judas rode, all the preceding night, to carry intelligence, and served as a pilot to conduct the enemy, and came personally with them to the house where the General was taken."

In the year 1753, [says the London papers], Mr Lee was appointed 7th lieutenant in the 44th regiment; in 1756 captain in ditto; in 1761 major in the 103d regiment; in 1763 he was put on half-pay, the regiment being reduced; in 1772 he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel [xxxiv. 279.]. His name was on the list of the army till 1775, during which time he conscientiously received the half-pay from government, whilst he was assisting in planning the present rebellion in America." [xxxvii. 435, 6.]

"*London, March* 20. Gen. Washington, it is said, has sent a formal message to Gen. Howe, demanding Gen. Lee: and, according to the terms of the cartel, offering Col. Campbell, and three other colonels (prisoners) for him. Gen. Howe refused to exchange Lee upon any terms; upon which Gen. Washington ordered the four colonels to be sent to prison."

Before the attack at Trenton [76, 9.], a speech made by Gen. Washington was printed, and distributed, viz.

"My Friends, It is not only the liberty of America that depends on your valour and firmness, but, what ought to be much more dear to you than your lives, your honour! Think of the infamy which will attend you through life, not only here, but in the whole world, if the campaign closes without some instance that the courage with which you stand to your arms, is equal to the justice of the cause which ought to animate your bosoms. For my own part, I will not survive a defeat, if that defeat arises from any attention to your safety. — Wipe out the stains which have been thrown upon your reputations, by seeking an honourable death;— and give credit to me, that it will be the only means of meeting victory, life, and honour!"

The following is the American account of some of the late proceedings of the provincials.

"His Excellency General Washington strictly forbids all the officers and soldiers of the continental army, of the militia, and all recruiting parties, plundering any person whatsoever, whether Tories or others. The effects of such persons will be applied to public uses in a regular manner; and it is expected that humanity and tenderness to women and children, will distinguish brave Americans, contending for liberty, from infamous, mercenary ravages, whether British or Hessians.

Trenton, Jan. 1. G. WASHINGTON."

"*Philadelphia, Nov.* 27. The congress have promoted Monsieur de Roche de Fermoy, a brave and experienced officer, and formerly a colonel in the French service, to the rank of Brigadier-General."

"*Philadelphia, Jan.* 7. This day an express arrived from Gen. Washington's army at Plukemin, Morris county, East Jersey, which he left last Sunday night. By him we learn our army is in high spirits, having had various engagements with the enemy, in which they have been victorious, and have taken several field-pieces, a considerable quantity of baggage, and upwards of 700 prisoners, amongst whom are many officers of rank and fortune."

"*Intelligence received in congress.*

Upon the evacuation of Elizabethtown, General Maxwell fell upon the enemy's rear, and made seventy prisoners, and took a parcel of baggage.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec."

"*Extract of a letter from Lt.-Gen. Gates, to a gentleman in this city, dated Morristown, Jan.* 9. The two late actions at Trenton and Princeton have put a very

different

different face upon affairs. Within a fortnight paſt we have taken and killed of Howe's army between two and three thouſand men. Our loſs is trifling. We are daily picking up their parties; yeſterday we took ſeventy priſoners, and thirty loads of baggage."

"*Philadelphia, Jan.* 16. By letters from Gen. Waſhington's army, of the 8th, 10th, and 11th inſtant, we have the following intelligence, viz. That our army marched from Plukemin, and arrived at Morris-town on the 6th; that Gen. Maxwell, with a conſiderable body of continental troops and militia, having marched towards Elizabeth-town, ſent back for a reinforcement, which having joined him, he advanced, and took poſſeſſion of the town, and made priſoners fifty Waldeckers and forty Highlanders who were quartered there: and made prize of a ſchooner with baggage and ſome blankets on board.

Gen. Heath is on his march to New-York, with a large army."

"*Baltimore, Jan.* 16. Congreſs has received the following intelligence from the army at Plukemin, in the ſtate of New Jerſey, Jan. 5.

On the 2d inſtant the enemy began to advance upon us at Trenton; and, after ſome ſkirmiſhing, the head of their column reached that place about four o'clock, whilſt their rear was as far back as Maidenhead. They attempted to paſs Sanpinck creek, which runs through Trenton, at different places; but finding the fords guarded, they halted, and kindled their fires. We were drawn up on the ſouth ſide of the creek. In this ſituation we remained till dark, cannonading the enemy, and received the fire of their field pieces, which did but little damage.

At twelve o'clock, after renewing our fires, and leaving guards at the bridge in Trenton, and other paſſes on the ſame ſtream above, we marched by a round-about road to Princeton. We found Princeton, about ſunriſe, with only three regiments, and three troops of light horſe in it, two of which were on their march to Trenton. Theſe three regiments, eſpecially the two firſt, made a gallant reſiſtance; and in killed, wounded, and priſoners, muſt have loſt 500 men. Upwards of 100 of them were left dead on the field, and with thoſe carried on by the army, and ſuch as were taken in purſuit, and carried acroſs the Delaware, there are near 300 priſoners, fourteen of whom are officers, all Britiſh.

Col. Haſelet and Porter, Capt. Neal, of the artillery, Capt. Flemming, who commanded the firſt Virginia regiment, and four or five other valuable officers, with about twenty-five or thirty privates, were ſlain in the field. Our whole loſs cannot be aſcertained, as many who were in purſuit of the enemy, whom they chaſed three or four miles, are not yet come in. We burnt the enemy's hay, and deſtroyed ſuch other things as the occaſion would admit.

From the beſt intelligence we have been able to get, the enemy were ſo much alarmed at the apprehenſion of loſing their ſtores at Brunſwick, that they marched immediately thither from Trenton without halting, and got there before day.

The following officers and volunteers, viz. Majors, Meigs, Bigelow; Captains, Lamb, Topham, Thayer, Morgan, Ward, Goodrich, Hanchett; Lieutenants, M'Dougall, Compton, Clarke, Webb, Chriſtopher, Febriger, Heth, Savage, Brown, Nichols, Brunt, Steel; Enſign, Tiſdall; Volunteers, Oſborn, Duncan, Lockwood, M'Guire, Porterfield, and Henry, who were ſent from Canada by Gen. Carleton, are releaſed from their parole, others of the ſame rank belonging to the Britiſh army having been exchanged for them.

ROBERT HARRISON, Secretary to his Excellency General Waſhington."

"*New York, Jan.* 2. A brigade of the Heſſians, conſiſting of the three regiments of Loſberg, Knyphauſen, and Rall, was attacked on the 26th of December, by a body of the provincials, conſiſting of about 12,000 men. After the moſt vigorous reſiſtance, for more than an hour, in which numbers were killed, the remainder, finding themſelves ſurrounded on every ſide, and their numbers ſo conſiderably diminiſhed, were obliged to yield to the ſuperior force of the enemy.— 290 of the above brigade ſaved themſelves by flight, and have ſince arrived at the camp of Col. Donop, at Prince-town.— The following, among other officers, have been returned among the ſlain: Col. Rall, who commanded the brigade; Lt-Col[s]. Scheffer and Bretthauer; and Maj[s] Hanſtein and Dechow.— Every particular which hath as yet tranſpired, gives reaſon to believe, that

that Col. Rall was in ſome degree blameable for the whole affair. Inſtead of retiring over the bridge behind him, and demoliſhing it to ſecure his retreat, he ſuſtained the attack of a force greatly ſuperior to that under his command. He even was ſo imprudent as to advance with only two regiments, viz. his own and that of Loſberg. The loſs of his own life, and of the lives of many hundreds of his troops, may be attributed to a raſhneſs in his conduct. Had he acted with leſs ardour, and with more prudence, he would, in all human probability, have prevented the diſaſter which befel the Heſſian arms.— It is but doing juſtice to the troops under Col. Rall to obſerve, that they behaved with the moſt determined bravery. They fought, although without the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs, until they were ſurrounded."

"Saturday morning laſt a body of rebels, ſuppoſed about 4000, appeared on the heights near King's-bridge, vainly imagining to poſſeſs themſelves of Fort Independence, in and about which were ſtationed a party of Heſſians, and Col. Rogers's rangers, amounting in all to about 400 men. On perceiving the diſparity, the commanding officer ordered the outguards to join the troops in the fort; when one Heath, a rebel-general, ſent in a ſummons of a very extraordinary nature, intimating, that his wiſhes to prevent the effuſion of blood had induced him to offer honourable terms to ſuch as were leaſt concerned in the war; aſſuring them (the Heſſians) they ſhould be treated with the ſame lenity their brethren taken in the Jerſeys now experienced; but excepted the Americans; and inſiſted, that the garriſon ſhould ſurrender in fifteen minutes. This inſult was treated with diſdain, and the rebel-general, after four or five hours prepoſterous parade, and firing a few ſhot at Major Grimes's quarters, who was very vigilant in obſerving the enemy's motions, thought proper to retire, and has not ſince made any advances.

Accounts from the Jerſeys ſay, On Thurſday laſt Gen. Vaughan, in conſequence of intelligence received of a party of rebels being in a wood four or five miles from Amboy, made an excurſion towards them at the head of the 46th regiment; when one of the party obſerving a villain levelling his piece at the General, diſpatched him. Two or three others ſhared the ſame fate in the wood, and the reſt made a retreat. We had one man ſlightly wounded. Friday morning a number of the ſame gentry came down to ſurpriſe a ſmall party of the King's troops near the bridge of Brunſwick, when they were ſurrounded, and thirty taken priſoners, without the loſs of a man. And on Tueſday laſt, the foraging parties met, when a ſkirmiſh enſued; the rebels left about 400 dead on the field, and 100 were taken priſoners; the loſs of the King's troops were very inconſiderable.

New York, Jan. 20. Laſt week, as the brave 28th, on their return from eſcorting the proviſion-waggons to Amboy in the Jerſeys, was marching through the woods to their quarters, they fell in with a lurking party of the Americans. Col. Abercrombie, with a light dragoon, firſt diſcovered the famous partiſans Randall and Comes behind a farm-houſe. The former ſhot the Colonel's horſe, and wounded the dragoon in the neck; he then jumped over a rail-fence. The light horſe purſued, and ſhot him through the ſhoulder; then offered him quarter; which he refuſed; he then engaged him with his ſword, and obliged him to ſubmit. Which Comes perceiving, cried out, "Damn you, Randall, will you take quarter from ſuch a bloody-back ſcoundrel." But he ſoon found himſelf reduced to the ſame dilemma; and they are now ſafely lodged in Brunſwick guardhouſe. The troops engaged ſmartly, and the Americans retired with conſiderable loſs. A few of the 28th were wounded." *New York Gazette, Jan.* 23. & 30.

"*New York, Jan.* 21. In my laſt I informed you, that Lord Cornwallis had advanced as far as Burlington, which is within twenty miles of Philadelphia; ſince which our troops have returned to Brunſwick and Amboy, finding it impoſſible to hold poſts of ſeventy and eighty miles in extent with only 10,000 men. The 17th regiment, conſiſting only of 230 men, were attacked by 6 or 7000 rebels, and repulſed the firſt line of them by the bayonet, killing a great number of them, among the reſt General Mercer. The 17th regiment finding they were amidſt ſo great a number, thought it neceſſary to retreat, which they did with great regularity, but with the loſs of half the regiment. One company, which my friend G. commanded, loſt 22 out of

27,

27, which it conſiſted of on the firſt attack."

"*New York, Feb.* 12. On the 6th inſtant a party of the rebels made a deſcent on the eaſt end of Long iſland, almoſt oppoſite to New London, where they deſtroyed every thing they could not carry off: before they embarked they ſet fire to two houſes; but they were extinguiſhed without much damage. This alarm has cauſed ſome troops to be ſtationed there."

Letters by a tranſport that left New York Feb. 15. ſay, that Lieut. Trevor being out with a party of 28 men in the Jerſeys, was fired on by a conſiderable number of provincials, commanded by Col. Mercer, which killed Lieut. Trevor and eighteen of his men, and wounded Enſ. Wilſon in the groin. Mercer ſeeing ſo many fall, deſired his men not to fire any more; when a random ſhot from one of our people going off, killed Col. Mercer: thoſe who remained with Enſ. Wilſon and Lieut. Hall were made priſoners.—The ſame letters give an account, that Enſ. Cuningham being out with a party in the Jerſeys, was fired on by ſome of the provincials, and killed.

"On the 1ſt of February a ſmart ſkirmiſh happened at Springfield in New Jerſey, between a party of near 4000 rebels under the command of Sullivan, and the 42d regiment, (the famous and gallant highlanders), under Sir William Erſkine. The rebels were attempting to poſſeſs two hills, which would have given them a conſiderable advantage. Sir William, perceiving their deſign, directed his highlanders to diſpute the ground. They advanced with their uſual ardour and intrepidity upon the enemy, notwithſtanding the great diſparity of their numbers, and came inſtantly to cloſe quarters with them. The ſpirit of theſe heroes was not to be matched by rebels; and accordingly they ſoon gave up the point, and retired with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind them upwards of betwixt 3 and 400 men killed upon the ſpot. The bravery and conduct of Sir William Erſkine and this regiment have been equalled only by Col. Maxwood and the gallant 17th. The loſs on the part of the troops amounted only to eighteen in killed and wounded." *New-York Gaz. Feb.* 19.

"*New York, Jan.* 15. People are crouding in every day to take the benefit of the proclamation, which expires the 30th inſt. The rebels lurk about on the roads like ſo many highwaymen, and have taken the lives of ſeveral innocent people for what they could rob them of. They are a poor, ragged, barbarous ſet of people. We had 4 or 5000 of them priſoners on board our ſhips, but they having ſuch bad diſtempers among them that each ſhip buried ten or twelve of a day, Gen. Howe about a week ago gave all that were able to walk, their liberty, after taking the oath not to take up arms againſt his Majeſty."

"*New York, Jan.* 16. Gen. Howe, out of humanity, had ordered all the rebel-priſoners to be lodged in the moſt roomy buildings in the town, and allowed them to want for no neceſſaries; yet we were alarmed ſome time ago with a mortal fever which broke out among them: it firſt ſeized the priſoners taken in Long iſland. Compaſſion for theſe miſled people prevailed on the General to diſmiſs thoſe that remained of the common men. It is to be wiſhed that this and ſundry ſimilar judgements which have lately taken place among the rebels, may be viewed by them in a proper light, to wean them of their love for war."

"*New York, Feb.* 14. By ſeveral perſons who lately left Philadelphia we learn, that trade, commerce, and all mechanical occupations, are ſtopped in that city. A great number of veſſels have been taken by the ſharp look-out of the King's frigates, who have cloſely watched the Delaware river, ſo that no veſſel has arrived for the laſt five weeks. The moſt violent among the people exclaim againſt ſeveral of the colonies, for withholding their ſtipulated quotas of aſſiſtance, after drawing them into the ſnare. The poor wretches who have returned to Philadelphia from the rebel-army are in a calamitous ſituation, under the oppreſſion of many diſeaſes, and want of common neceſſaries; and thoſe who now belong to the army, join or leave it at pleaſure, being under no ſort of command. Several reinforcements, but badly equipped in point of cloathing, have lately marched to join Waſhington, and more are expected. The rebels give out, that as ſoon as General Howe paſſes the Delaware, they will ſet fire to Philadelphia, and leave it."

"*Boſton, Jan.* 16. Several ſoldiers of Col. Hutchinſon's regiment, ſtationed at Dorcheſter, were lately convicted before

a court-martial of mutiny, and other high crimes; three of whom were ſhot, ſeven whipped, and the others are confined in gaol."

"*Hartford, Jan.* 27. At the adjourned ſuperior court held in this place laſt week, the following perſons were convicted of the following crimes, viz. Moſes Dunbar, of Waterbury, convicted of having a captain's commiſſion from Gen. Howe, and enliſting men to ſerve in the miniſterial army: ſentenced to ſuffer death, but the time of his execution is not fixed upon. — The Rev. Roger Viets, of Simſbury, convicted of aiding and aſſiſting Major French, and a number of other priſoners, in making their eſcape, and holding a traitorous correſpondence with the enemy: ſentenced to pay 20l. to the ſtate, and ſuffer one year's impriſonment. — Gurdon Whitmore of Middletown, found guilty of high treaſon by the jury; but an arreſt of judgement being pleaded in his favour, a final determination of the trial was put off till March next."

"*London, March* 18. By accounts from Boſton we learn, that Mr John Walker, hardwareman, was, in the month of January laſt, convicted by a pretended court of juſtice, of having correſponded with his brother, an officer in the cuſtoms at Jamaica. Though there was no kind of political intelligence conveyed in the epiſtles, the members of this court ſentenced him to work as a common tranſport, for the term of four years, in the tan-pits upon the back ſettlements. Two other inhabitants of Boſton have been condemned, by the above conſcientious court, to three years ſervitude, for ſimilar offences."

A letter from America received at Norwich March 15. ſays, "It is certain, that there are in the gaols of Philadelphia about 900 priſoners, moſtly people of reputation, and among thoſe Mr Dickenſon, who, with many others, on finding the real deſigns of the pretended patriots, oppoſed them: many of theſe would have gone from Philadelphia to take the advantage of Gen. Howe's proclamation, but the armed rebels prevented them."

Another letter from Philadelphia, received about the ſame time, ſays, "An order has been iſſued, that all perſons who refuſe to take up arms in defence of the city, ſhall quit their habitations in ſix hours, and retire without the walls. So peremptory and haſty a reſolution raiſed ſuch a ferment as nearly brought on an inſurrection, among thoſe, who, from their rank, could not prepare to remove with ſuch diſpatch, and who poſitively refuſed to carry arms againſt their ſovereign. Many of theſe are lodged in priſon, and their eſtates confiſcated."

"*New York, Feb.* 13. By late intelligence from the Jerſeys, we have the following account of the ſituation of the rebel-army. It conſiſts in all of about 8000 men; of which 1500 are at Morriſtown, with Mr George Waſhington, 500 at Plukemin, and 1000 at Boundbrook, the ſame number at Quibbletown, and its environs; at Elizabethtown 1000, under Sullivan; 500 with Putnam at Prince-town, and the ſame number at Trenton; the remainder in the neighbourhood of the Paſſaic river."

"*New York, Feb.* 8. Winter, with his icy train, has put an end to war in this part of the world for a few months, againſt which time I ſuppoſe we ſhall receive freſh ſuccours from Britain. We have a number of corps here, but how complete they are, the commander in chief only knows. I have hereunto annexed the number of regiments we have, ſuppoſing them full:

2 regiments of light dragoons, -	898
33 ditto of foot, 1 battalion each,	18150
42d ditto, 2 battalions, -	1000
71ſt ditto 2 ditto, - -	2000
2 battalions marines, - -	1000
Germans, - - -	13520
Artillery, - - -	650
	37208

So many they appear *on paper*, but what number they may be *in their ſhoes*, is to learn; yet I ſuppoſe, with the New-York recruits and new corps, they may make about 27,000.

The navy under Lord Howe are, one line of battle, and 70 under that rate, conſiſting of ſhips of 50, 44, 32, and 28 gun ſloops and armed veſſels, on board of which, it is ſuppoſed, there may be about 15,000 ſeamen."

"*New York, Jan.* 20. Saturday being the anniverſary appointed for the celebration of her Majeſty's birth-day, the guns, as uſual, were fired at Fort George. His Majeſty's Commiſſioners gave a grand entertainment to the governors, and officers of diſtinction, both Britiſh and Heſſian; and, in the evening, a very ſplendid exhibition of fire-works, under the direction of Col. Mon-

greſor, was played off at Whitehall upon the occaſion.—In honour of the day, the General was inveſted with the enſigns of the Moſt Honourable order of the Bath [xxxviii. 567.] by Lord Howe, aſſiſted by General de Heiſter, in the preſence of a numerous aſſembly.—Sir William Howe gave an elegant ball and ſupper in the evening. The ball was opened by Mrs Clark and his Excellency Governor Tryon."

"*New York, Jan.* 13. I ſend you Gen. Howe's public thanks to the 17th regiment, and to Capt. Scott, the young hero of this age.

"Gen. Howe deſires Lt-Col. Mawhood will accept his thanks for his gallantry and good conduct in the attack he made upon the enemy the 3d inſtant [76.]. He deſires his thanks may be alſo given to the officers and ſoldiers of the 17th foot, and to part of the 55th regiment, and other detachments on their march, who on that occaſion ſupported the 17th regiment, who charged the enemy with bayonets in the moſt ſpirited manner.

The General deſires his public approbation may be ſignified to Capt. Scott of the 17th foot, for his remarkable good conduct in protecting and ſecuring the baggage of the 4th brigade upon the above occaſion."

"*New York, Jan.* 12. In a letter which you will receive prior to this, Capt. Williamſon is mentioned as taken, but he is dead. He came to town in order to ſettle ſome buſineſs of his company, and on his return was joined by ſeveral officers and grenadiers who fell on the right of the 17th regiment of infantry, which was then going to engage a far ſuperior number of the rebels. Some of the grenadiers, (recruits going to join their company), not being ſo ardent as was wiſhed, Williamſon ſtepped forward, and with words and actions encouraged them; when a ſhot ſtruck him near the groin. He turned to his party, wiſhed them ſucceſs, and marched about 200 paces in the rear, fell down and died."

To ſupport the credit of the American paper currency, ſeems to be a matter of difficulty.

"*Albany Committee-chamber, Jan.* 21. Reſolved, That every perſon who ſhall offer any thing for ſale, or ſhall ſell any thing, for a leſs ſum in gold or ſilver money than in continental or other paper money now paſſing current in this county, ſhall be conſidered as a depretiator of the paper-currency, and treated accordingly; and that every perſon who ſhall refuſe to take the ſame in payment, ſhall be treated in like manner.

MATTHEW VISSCHER, Sec."

"*Boſton, Jan.* 30. The council of ſafety at Pennſylvania, in compliance with a reſolve of the continental congreſs, are taking the moſt vigorous and ſpeedy meaſures for puniſhing all ſuch as ſhall refuſe continental currency."

By a declaration of the continental congreſs, publiſhed before they left Philadelphia, all goods are poſitively declared to be forfeited, for which the paper-currency of the United States is refuſed in payment.

"*London, March* 6. There has lately been, as we underſtand, by a gentleman juſt arrived from New England, a large diſtribution in that country of counterfeited continental bills, ſo admirably executed, as not eaſily to be diſcerned from thoſe iſſued by order of the congreſs. This has contributed not a little to lower the value, and will be one effectual bar to their repayment or liquidation.—It is calculated, that above one half of the perſonal property of the colonies has been actually ſunk by theſe bills of the congreſs; a great part of which has been remitted to Europe, as a proviſion to certain people againſt "the ſtormy day." Poſterity will ſcarce credit the aſtoniſhing infatuation of the times."—The following is a copy of one of their notes.

"Maſſachuſetts State.
N° 4486. *October* 18. 1776.
Four Pence.

This bill entitles the bearer to receive Four Pence, L. M. out of the Treaſury of this State, by the 18th of October 1784, and ſhall be received for that ſum in all payments, agreeable to an act of the ſaid State.

J. HASTINGS, } Committee."

"*London, March* 27. The ſtate of Gen. Waſhington's new appointment is this. He is choſen Dictator (ſimilar to what is here underſtood by Protector) for ſix months, with a council of thirteen, for civil affairs. The other members of the congreſs are returned to their reſpective homes, to aſſiſt locally in the affairs of their ſeveral provinces; but the council to remain at Philadelphia.

And

And Mr Waſhington has now the whole military command in his own hands.

The following proclamation was lately publiſhed by Lord Protector Waſhington.

"*By his Excellency* GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Eſq; General and Commander in Chief of all the forces of the United States of America.*

WHEREAS ſeveral perſons, inhabitants of the United States of America, influenced by inimical motives, intimidated by the threats of the enemy, or deluded by a proclamation iſſued the 30th of November laſt [9.], by Lord and General Howe, ſtyled the King's Commiſſioners for granting pardons, &c. (now at open war, and invading theſe States), have been ſo loſt to the intereſt and welfare of their country, as to repair to the enemy, ſign a declaration of fidelity, and, in ſome inſtances, have been compelled to take the oaths of allegiance, and engaged not to take up arms, or encourage others ſo to do, againſt the King of Great Britain: And whereas it has become neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between the friends of America and thoſe of Great Britain, inhabitants of theſe States; and that every man who receives protection from, and is a ſubject of any ſtate, (not being conſcientiouſly ſcrupulous againſt bearing arms), ſhould ſtand ready to defend the ſame againſt hoſtile invaſion: I do, therefore, in behalf of the United States, by virtue of the powers committed to me by Congreſs, hereby ſtrictly command and require every perſon, having ſubſcribed ſuch declaration, taken ſuch oaths, and accepted ſuch protection and certificate, to repair to head quarters, or to the quarters of the neareſt general officer of the continental army, or militia, (until further proviſion can be made by civil authority), and there deliver up ſuch protection, certificate, and paſſports, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America: Nevertheleſs, hereby granting *full liberty* to all ſuch as prefer the intereſt and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happineſs of their country, forthwith to withdraw themſelves and families within the enemy's lines. And I do hereby declare, that all and every perſon who may neglect or refuſe to comply with this order, within thirty days from the date hereof, will be deemed adherents to the King of Great Britain, and treated as common enemies to theſe American States.

Given at head quarters, Morris-town:
By his Excellency's command,
ROBERT HARRISON, Sec."

"*London, March 27.* By a gentleman juſt arrived from New York, we are informed, that in conſequence of Mr Waſhington's late proclamation, one Mr Brown wrote to him for leave to withdraw to New York. Though ſuch liberty had been proclaimed, it was not only refuſed, but the gentleman was ſeized, and thrown into irons, and is now confined in a dungeon in the Jerſeys."

The following is the concluſion of an Addreſs of the Houſe of Repreſentatives at Boſton, in November 1776, to the officers and ſoldiers ſent from thence to ſerve in the American army.

"This Aſſembly can by no means conceive, that men who have always dwelt beneath the ſacred boughs of Liberty, and have been educated in the moſt liberal ſentiments, and hitherto greatly diſtinguiſhed for patriotiſm and public virtue, can need much perſuaſion to induce them to tarry after their term of inliſtment is expired, as propoſed to you in a reſolve of this court, when, if they return, war muſt follow them to their own door, and the din of arms will forbid that eaſe and reſt, which, in times of peace, may be enjoyed in domeſtic life. Let, therefore, your love to your country, we beſeech you, be ſhewn in your perſeverance, at a time when you are not under thoſe obligations, which are deſigned more for mercenary ſlaves, than thoſe who are bravely fighting to ſave from impending ruin that land which gave them birth. And while you are thus gallantly employed, in the moſt important and noble cauſe that any part of the human race has fought for, this Aſſembly again aſſures you, that it ſhall be their particular concern to give you comfortable ſupplies and neceſſary reinforcements; and, we truſt, that, under the ſmiles of that Almighty and Merciful Being, who rules in the armies of heaven, and who is the diſpoſer of all events, you will be crowned with a glorious victory, and return honourably from the field, bringing deliverance to diſtreſſed America."

From the Boſton Weekly Advertiſer, Feb. 6.

State of Maſſachuſet's-bay.

In the Houſe of Repreſentatives, Jan. 26. 1777.

ORDERED, That the following Addreſs be printed, and a copy thereof ſent to each miniſter of the goſpel within this ſtate; to whom it is recommended to read the ſame, the next Lord's day after he ſhall receive it, to his people, immediately after the religious exerciſes of the day are over: And alſo that a copy thereof be ſent to the commanding officer of each company of the militia, in each town in this ſtate, to be read to the companies of militia, while they are under arms, for the purpoſe of recruiting the army.

To the people of the Maſſachuſet's bay.

Friends and Countrymen,

WHEN a people within the reach of the higheſt temporal happineſs human nature is capable of, are in danger of having it wreſted from them, by an enemy whoſe paths are marked with blood, and an inſupportable load of miſery, which ſucceeding generations muſt bear through centuries of time, is offered inſtead of it;—to rouſe the brave, invite the generous, quicken the ſlow, and awaken all to a ſenſe of their danger, is a meaſure as friendly as it is important. The danger of having your towns, your families, your fruitful fields, and all the riches and bleſſings derived from the induſtry and wiſdom of your venerable anceſtors, who may be ranked among the moſt virtuous and brave men the world ever produced, raviſhed from you, and poſſeſſed by a banditti, whom no laws can controul, and whoſe aim is to trample upon all the rights of humanity, would be ſufficient to give the coward courage, and animate to the greateſt feats in arms, the moſt ſupine and indolent. Surely then, while America, the aſylum of happineſs and freedom, is inveſted with a foe, whoſe ſole aim is to riffle her ſons of every enjoyment that renders life deſirable, you will be ready in arms to defend your country, your liberty, your wives, your children, and poſſeſſions, from rapine, abuſe, and deſtruction.

For this grand and noble purpoſe, ſo worthy of the virtuous and brave, and we humbly truſt ſo pleaſing to Almighty God, you have, by your delegates, aſſembled in council for ſeveral years paſt; —for this, in April 1775. you arrayed yourſelves in arms,—defeated and put to flight that band of Britons [xxxvii. 229. 300.], who, uninjured and unoffended, like robbers and murderers, dared to aſſault your peaceful manſions; — and for this, we truſt, you will be at all times ready to ſpend your blood and treaſure. In addreſſing you upon the important ſubject of your own defence, ſhould we attempt a narration of the cauſes of your danger, the many petitions you have preſented, praying for peace, liberty, and ſafety, and to avoid ſhedding the blood of your fellow-men, and the unexampled indignity and contempt with which thoſe petitions were treated,—it would be undeſervedly to impeach you of inattention to your own ſafety.

Let it ſuffice then to ſay, that when every other method taken by you, was productive of nothing but inſults;—and that flames in your houſes, murders on your perſons, and robberies on your property, were returned, in anſwer to your peaceable, humble, and dutiful petitions: when the force of Britain, with that of her allies, were collected, and drawn into exertion, to reduce you from eaſe and affluence to ſlavery and vaſſalage; the Congreſs of the United States, deſpairing otherwiſe to eſtabliſh your ſafety, upon principles which would render it durable, made that declaration, by which you became independent of Great Britain, and in which character alone you can be ſecure and happy.

But as the increaſing power and opulence of the United States are the dread and envy of thoſe avaricious and ambitious minds, who had laid a plan for the monopoly and enjoyment of them, a large army is neceſſary for your defence; and the congreſs themſelves have determined upon eighty-eight battalions, of which fifteen are to be raiſed by this ſtate. The militia, who have been marched to aid the army under the conduct of that man whoſe fortitude, virtue, and patience, is, perhaps, without example, (and who hourly, without reward, but the approbation of his own mind), is riſking his all in your cauſe, will ſoon be on their return; — the enemy, angry at the chaſtiſement juſtly given them, for their unprovoked cruelties to our brethren in the Jerſeys [76, 8.], are watching an opportunity to return the blow. A farther draft from the militia would ſo much burden the people of this ſtate, that this court cannot think of it without pain and anxiety. We have therefore,

therefore, being certain that you need no other ſtimulus to your duty than having the line of it drawn for you, directed, that the number of men, amounting to one ſeventh part of all the male perſons of ſixteen and upwards, ſhould be immediately engaged in the continental army, upon the encouragement given by government. This encouragement we conceive to be greater than ever given, even to the greateſt mercenaries. Surely then a people called to fight, not to ſupport crowns and principalities, but for their own freedom and happineſs, will readily engage.

That the encouragement given might fully anſwer the deſigns of government, and the expectation of the ſoldiery, this court have ſettled the price of every neceſſary and convenient article of life, produced in this country, and alſo the price of foreign goods, in a juſt proportion to their price in the place from which they are imported, conſidering the riſk of importation. And nothing is now wanting to give value to the ſoldiers wages, and ſtability to our currency, but the vigorous and punctual execution and obſervance of that act; which we hope to ſee ſpeedily effected, by the public virtue and zeal of this people, in the cauſe of their country.

But leſt ſome of you ſhould be deceived by the miſrepreſentations of deſigning men, we muſt remind you, that all the pretenſions to peace and reconciliation, ſo pompouſly dealt out in the inſidious proclamations of the Commiſſioners of the King of Great Britain, amount to nothing more than an invitation to give up your country, and ſubmit unconditionally to the government of the Britiſh Parliament. They tell you, that their King is graciouſly diſpoſed to reviſe all acts which he ſhall deem incompatible with your ſafety; but your good ſenſe will lead you to determine, that if he is a prince worthy to reign over a free people, and a friend to the rights of mankind, he would long ago have determined as to the juſtice of thoſe acts, and muſt have ſeen them founded on deſpotiſm, and replete with ſlavery. — But they do not tell you, that their Sovereign has the leaſt intention to repeal any of thoſe acts: — ſurely then, a reviſion of them can never eaſe your minds, or in the leaſt alleviate your burdens.

But thoſe Commiſſioners, although they offer themſelves as the Ambaſſadors of Peace, and invite you to what they call the mild and gentle government of Britain, mark their footſteps with blood, rapine, and the moſt unexampled barbarities, diſtributing their dreadful and ſavage ſeverity, as well to the ſubmiſſive as the obſtinate, while neither rank, ſex, or age, exempts any from the effects of their brutal paſſion.

Should America be overcome by, or ſubmit to Britain, the needy and almoſt periſhing tenant in Ireland, diſarmed, and having but little property in the production of his toil and labour, telling the bread for which his tender infants are ſuffering, to pay the haughty landlord's rent, or inſulting collector's tax, would be but a faint reſemblance of your calamity.

Society, where no man is bound by other laws than thoſe to which he gives his own conſent, is the greateſt ornament, and tends moſt of all things to the felicity of human nature; and is a privilege which can never be given up by a people, without their being exceedingly guilty before Him who is the beſtower of every good and perfect gift.

We therefore, for the ſake of that religion, for the enjoyment whereof your anceſtors fled to this country; — for the ſake of your laws, and future felicity, — intreat and urge you to act vigorouſly and firmly in this critical ſituation of your country; and we doubt not but that your noble exertions, under the ſmiles of Heaven, will inſure you that ſucceſs and freedom due to the wiſe man and the patriot.

Above all, we earneſtly exhort you to contribute all within your power to the encouragement of thoſe virtues for which the Supreme Being has declared, that he will beſtow his bleſſings upon a nation, and to the diſcouragement of thoſe vices for which he overturns kingdoms in his wrath; and that at all proper times and ſeaſons you ſeek to Him by prayer and ſupplication, for deliverance from the calamities of war; duly conſidering, that without his powerful aid and gracious interpoſition, all your endeavours muſt prove abortive and vain.

Sent up for concurrence,

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Speaker*, P. T.

In Council, January 28. 1777.

Read, and concurred. ——

JOHN AVERY, *D. Secretary.*

The

The ſubject of the following genuine letters, the time when they were written, and the rank and reputation of the writers, render them of much importance.

To Benjamin Franklin, Eſq; Philadelphia.

Eagle, June 20. 1776. [xxxviii. 437. 587.]

I Cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have ſent you, in the ſtate I received them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the ſubject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy diſputes have engaged us.

You will learn the nature of my miſſion from the official diſpatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the ſame conveyance. Retaining all the earneſtneſs I ever expreſſed, to ſee our differences accommodated, I ſhall conceive, if I meet with the diſpoſition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the moſt flattering hopes of proving ſerviceable, in the objects of the King's paternal ſolicitude, by promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the neceſſity of preventing her trade from paſſing into foreign channels, muſt keep us ſtill a divided people, I ſhall, from every private, as well as public motive, moſt heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein thoſe great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to aſſure you perſonally of the regard with which I am

Your ſincere and faithful
humble ſervant,
HOWE.

P. S. I was diſappointed of the opportunity I expected for ſending this letter at the time it was dated, and have been ever ſince prevented, by calms and contrary winds, from getting here to inform Gen. Howe of the commiſſion with which I have the ſatisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off Sandy-Hook, 12th July.

To the Rt Hon. Lord Viſcount Howe.

Philadelphia, July 30. 1776.

I Received ſafe the letters your Lordſhip ſo kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

The official diſpatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had ſeen in the act of parliament, viz. offers of pardon upon ſubmiſſion; which I was ſorry to find, as it muſt give your Lordſhip pain to be ſent ſo far on ſo hopeleſs a buſineſs.

Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expreſſes indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baſeneſs, and inſenſibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleaſed to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increaſing our reſentments. It is impoſſible we ſhould think of ſubmiſſion to a government that has, with the moſt wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceleſs towns, in the midſt of winter; excited the ſavages to maſſacre our peaceful farmers, and our ſlaves to murder their maſters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our ſettlements with blood. Theſe atrocious injuries have extinguiſhed every ſpark of affection for that parent-country we once held ſo dear. But were it poſſible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not poſſible for you, I mean the Britiſh nation, to forgive the people you have ſo heavily injured: you can never confide again in thoſe as fellow-ſubjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given ſuch juſt cauſes of laſting enmity; and this muſt impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our ſpirit, by the ſevereſt tyranny, and obſtructing by every means in your power, our growing ſtrength and proſperity.

But your Lordſhip mentions "the King's paternal ſolicitude for promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the colonies." If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by diſtinct ſtates, now at war, and his Majeſty has given your Lordſhip power to treat with us of ſuch a peace, I may venture to ſay, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpoſe not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances [xxxviii. 587.]: but I am perſuaded you have no ſuch powers. Your nation, though by puniſhing thoſe American governors who have fomented the diſcord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing, as far as poſſible, the miſchief done us, ſhe might recover a great ſhare of our regard, and the greateſt ſhare of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional ſtrength to be derived from a friendſhip with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wiſdom, to believe ſhe will

ever take ſuch ſalutary meaſures. Her fondneſs for conqueſt, as a warlike nation; her luſt of dominion, as an ambitious one; and her thirſt for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, (none of them legitimate cauſes of war), will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true intereſt, and will continually goad her on, in theſe ruinous, diſtant expeditions, ſo deſtructive both of lives, and of treaſure, that they muſt prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croiſades formerly were to moſt of the nations of Europe.

I have not the vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed, till the event ſhall verify it.

Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preſerve from breaking that fine and noble china vaſe —the Britiſh empire: for I knew, that, being once broken, the ſeparate parts could not retain even their ſhares of the ſtrength and value that exiſted in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of theſe parts could ſcarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordſhip may poſſibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when, at your good ſiſter's, in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might ſoon take place. I had the misfortune to find theſe expectations diſappointed, and to be treated as the cauſe of the miſchief I was labouring to prevent. My conſolation under that groundleſs and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendſhip of many wiſe and good men in that country, and, among the reſt, ſome ſhare in the regard of Lord Howe.

The well-founded eſteem, and, permit me to ſay, affection, which I ſhall always have for your Lordſhip, make it painful for me to ſee you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as deſcribed in your letter, is the neceſſity of preventing the American trade from paſſing into foreign channels. To me it ſeems, that neither the obtaining nor retaining any trade, how valuable ſoever, is an object for which men may juſtly ſpill each other's blood; that the true and ſure means of extending and ſecuring commerce, are the goodneſs and cheapneſs of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I conſider this war againſt us, therefore, as both unjuſt and unwiſe; and I am perſuaded, that cool and diſpaſſionate poſterity will condemn to infamy thoſe who adviſed it; and that even ſucceſs will not ſave from ſome degree of diſhonour thoſe who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being inſtrumental in a reconciliation; and believe, when you find that to be impoſſible, on any terms given you to propoſe, you will relinquiſh ſo odious a command, and return to a more honourable private ſtation.

With the greateſt and moſt ſincere reſpect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

B. FRANKLIN. *

* [xxxvi. 248. xxxvii. 116.]

A remarkable cure of Fits.

ANne Nichols, daughter of Robert Nichols, of Childer-Thornton in Cheſhire, troubled with fits, was perſuaded to wear *the ſkin of a ſlow-worm, wrapped in a linen girdle, round her waiſt*; which ſhe continued to do for nine months, without the return of her diſorder; when one day being at work, ſhe felt ſomething crawling about her breaſt, and to her great ſurpriſe found it to be a worm about two inches long; and, upon examination, found five or ſix more in the ſkin within her girdle. The fright brought on three fits; ſince which, however, ſhe has been perfectly free, though ſhe has diſcontinued the girdle more than a year.—*Liverpool Paper.*

Bath Chronicle, Thurſday, March 20. 1777.

WAnted, for a family who have bad health, a ſober, ſteady perſon, in the capacity of doctor, ſurgeon, apothecary, and man-midwife: He muſt occaſionally act in the capacity of butler, and dreſs hair and wigs: He will be required to read prayers occaſionally, and a ſermon every Sunday evening. The reaſon of this advertiſement is, that the family cannot any longer afford the expences of the phyſical tribe, and wiſh to be at a certain expence. A good ſalary will be given.—N. B. He will have liberty to turn a penny in any branch of his profeſſion when not wanted in the family.

NEW

NEW BOOKS. [102.]

LONDON.

Religion, Morality, &c.

A theological ſurvey of the human underſtanding. Intended as an antidote againſt modern Deiſm. 5 s. *Wallis & Co.*——Deſigned to eſtabliſh the doctrine of divine grace communicated to the mind of man, or the known principles of reaſon independently of a written revelation; endeavouring to ſhew, that the mind of man is ſupernaturally endowed with a divine principle, which counteracts the evil principle natural to him in conſequence of the lapſe of his firſt parents, and which is the ſource of his faith in God, and in the immortality of the ſoul. He ſuppoſes, that this principle, which he denominates a diſtinct ſenſation in the mind of man, and ſometimes a ſpiritual medium or organ, is the true foundation of theology. This ſeems to be the general ſcope of his reaſoning; but he has collected together ſuch a maſs of heterogeneous matter, that it is difficult to keep in ſight the object at which he ultimately aims. M.

An argument for natural and revealed religion: in which the principles of free-thinkers are examined. By the Rev. James Wilkinſon, A. M. fellow of Hertford college. 2 s. *Rivington.*——Many juſt ideas, but ranged immethodically, and expreſſed obſcurely. M.

A charge delivered at the ordination of the Rev. Mr Thomas Twining, May 31. 1775, in Downton, Wilts, by John Sturch; and a ſermon preached on the ſame occaſion, by Joſhua Toulmin, A. M. Together with an introductory diſcourſe, by John Mills, and a confeſſion of faith, by Thomas Twining. 1 s. *Buckland.*——Pious and rational, and muſt prove peculiarly acceptable to the more liberal part of the Diſſenters. M.

A ſermon [from 2 Kings, iv. 1.] preached at the anniverſary meeting of the ſons of the clergy, in the cathedral of St Paul, on Thurſday, May 9. 1776. By Beilby Porteus, D. D. now Biſhop of Cheſter. 1 s. *Baldwin.*——Excellent; and does honour to his Lordſhip's literary character, and his humanity. C.

A ſermon [from 1 Pet. ii. 17.] preached before the Houſe of Lords, Jan. 30. 1777. By John Lord Biſhop of Bangor. 1 s. *Robſon*——According to this Rt Rev. author, Chriſtianity has introduced no alterations in the civil rights of men, or the political conſtitutions of different countries;—oppoſition to ruling powers may be ſometimes expedient;—governors are fallible, like other men; and, in ſo extenſive and complicated a courſe, may, and muſt ſometimes, even with the moſt upright intentions make miſtakes, and it is poſſible may mean amiſs; in either of theſe caſes, wiſe and good men, appointed for ſuch purpoſes, and making a conſcience of their duty, will ſpeak and act according to reaſon, and their own information; and if this be done ſoberly and candidly, and according to the forms of the conſtitution, it is truly meritorious, becoming men living in a land of liberty, and in divers reſpects ſerviceable to government itſelf; on the contrary, when things are carried to extremities, and conducted with raſhneſs and violence, the moſt pernicious conſequences muſt enſue. He illuſtrates the fatal effects of ſuch proceedings by a general view of the latter part of the reign of Charles I. and concludes with ſome judicious obſervations on the circumſtances of that melancholy but inſtructive period. C.

A letter upon education, tranſlated from the French of a royal author. 2 s. *Nourſe.*——Printed in French not long ſince at Berlin, under the feigned name of a Citizen of Geneva, but ſaid to have been written by a great northern potentate. Having ſhewn the impropriety and the defects of the common modes of education, by which young men, eſpecially the nobility, are brought up in effeminacy and indolence, he earneſtly recommends a more vigorous and manly diſcipline. "Regulate (ſays he) their morals, impreſs them with virtuous ſentiments, elevate their ſouls, render them laborious, cultivate their underſtandings with care, uſe them to reflect upon their actions, teach them to be wiſe and circumſpect, to love frugality and ſimplicity."—He likewiſe takes notice of the frivolous education of the fair ſex, and with equal warmth and energy recommends the cultivation of their minds.—The tranſlator has ſubjoined a conſiderable number of notes, more particularly applicable to the circumſtances of the Engliſh nation. C.

The pupil of pleaſure; or, The new ſyſtem illuſtrated. Inſcribed to Mrs Eugenia Stanhope, editor of Lord Cheſterfield's letters. By Courtney Melmoth. 2 vols. 6 s. *Robinſon.*——Whatever latitude Lord Cheſterfield's ſyſtem may allow, in the purſuit of pleaſure, or the practice of diſſimulation, there ſeems to be no foundation for loading it with the infamy of producing characters capable of every ſpecies of villany. And in this light we muſt conſider Mr Melmoth's Pupil of Pleaſure; whom he has deſcribed as forming a plan of ſeduction againſt a married woman who was in the laſt ſtage of a conſumption, and at length, ſeizing the moment of a fainting fit into which his preſence had thrown her, for accompliſhing his purpoſe by force. This part of the ſtory is re-

lated

lated with so many heightening circumstances, that it is impossible to read it without feeling disgust, and pronouncing the whole unnatural and shocking. In the other parts of the work, the scenes of seduction are painted in such glowing colours, that some readers may be apt to question whether Mr Melmoth's preparation will operate as an antidote against the poison of Lord Chesterfield's writings. M.

A letter to Courtney Melmoth, Esq; with some remarks on two books, called Liberal Opinions, and The Pupil of Pleasure. 6 d *Wilkie.* —— The advice of a good friend to Mr Melmoth, and apparently so to morality. C.

History, Law, Politics, &c.

The life of David Hume, Esq; Written by himself. [1.] 1 s. 6 d. *Cadell.* —— A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* observes, that Mr Hume, in saying, that his History of England was at first disapproved and detested, and that the Primates of England and Ireland were the only persons considerable for rank or letters who encouraged him to persevere [3.], "has surely much overcharged the piece, and has by no means done justice to himself, or to the public. Another exception, a man of rank and letters, I beg leave to mention, namely, the late Earl of Corke, who at that time [1755] thus expressed himself: "I am reading every evening Mr Hume's *History of Great Britain* [so he at first styled it]; I own myself much pleased with it in general. The style is particularly lively and excellent. Where he is obscure, I believe he is affectedly so. His materials are admirably put together; many very curious remarks; some new facts; and all old and known stories put into a new method, and perfectly entertaining." *Hughes's Correspondence, vol. 3. p. 145. note.* The title of the pamphlet alluded to by Mr Hume [3.] is, *Remarks on Mr David Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion. Addressed to the Rev. Dr Warburton.* — Since the appearance of Mr Hume's Life, a new edition of this performance has been published, with the following advertisement prefixed.—"The following is supposed to be the pamphlet referred to by the late Mr David Hume, in p. 21. of his Life, as being written by Dr Hurd. Upon my applying to the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry for his permission to republish it, he very readily gave me his consent. His Lordship only added, he was sorry he could not take to himself the whole infamy of the charge brought against him; but that he should hereafter, if he thought it worth his while, explain himself more particularly on that subject. T. CADELL. *Strand, March,* 1777."—In this *Life* it is observable, (continues our author), that neither Rousseau [xxviii. 695.], nor Dr Beattie [xxxii. 428. xxxiii. 199. xxxv. 78. 387. 504.], are once named. As to the manner of his death, as Mr Hume lived, so, it seems, he died, without hopes or fears of futurity.—That he had an amiable temper, extensive learning, and many virtues [xxxviii. 455. 578.], we readily grant; but cannot, with Dr Adam Smith, think any man "perfectly wise" [7.], who is not *wise unto salvation.*

A journey to the highlands of Scotland. With occasional remarks on Dr Johnson's tour. By a lady. 2 s. 6 d. sewed. *Fielding and Walker.* —— The lady who writes this epistolary narrative, appears to be a lively correspondent; but her information is sometimes erroneous. C.

The penal statutes abridged, and alphabetically arranged. Calculated to serve the desirable end of an alphabetical commonplace book of the penal laws. Exhibiting, at one view, the nature of the offence; the penalty annexed to it, for the first, second, and third offence; the number of witnesses and magistrates necessary to conviction; the application of the penalty; the manner of prosecuting and recovering the penalty. By George Clark, Esq; 3 s. sewed. *Fielding and Walker.* —— Addington's abridgement [xxxvii. 618.] was given in a tabular form; this is arranged in the dictionary-method; and may be considered as an appendix to Burn's Justice. M.

Considerations on the laws relating to the office of a coroner, and on the practice of coroners, in taking inquisitions *super visum corporis, &c.* 2 s. 6 d. *Baldwin.* —— Offers many sensible remarks on the defective state of our laws respecting the inquisitions taken by coroners on dead bodies, &c. M.

Characters. Containing an impartial review of the public conduct and abilities of the most eminent personages in the parliament of G. Britain; considered as statesmen, senators, and public speakers. Revised and corrected by the author, since their original publication in the Gazetteer. 2 s. 6 d. *Bew.* —— These characteristic delineations have obtained a very considerable degree of approbation. They appear to have been drawn with tolerable impartiality, although the ingenious author seems to lean, in some degree, toward the party in opposition. M.

State of the gaols in London, Westminster, and borough of Southwark. To which is added, an account of the present state of the convicts sentenced to hard labour on board the Justitia upon the river Thames. By William Smith, M. D. 2 s. 6 d. —— The Reviewers speak in terms of approbation of this performance both with respect to intention and execution. The distresses and abuses which it presents to the view of the public are of a nature which must interest every

feeling mind, and excite an earneſt deſire to promote any ſcheme by which they may be removed. M.

An eſſay on Britiſh liberty: addreſſed to both Houſes of parliament. 3 s. *Bew.* —— Deſigned to expoſe the licentiouſneſs ſo openly practiſed and aſſerted under falſe ideas of liberty. C.

A letter to the directors of the Eaſt-India Company. By Keane Fitzgerald, Eſq; 1 s. *Payne.* —— Expoſes the unjuſtifiable practices reſpecting the management of the ſhipping. C.

Reflections on uſury. 1 s. *Fielding and Walker.* ——We are here preſented with an account of thoſe uſurious and pernicious contracts carried on under the mode of under-valued annuities; with the ſubſtance of the bill now before the parliament to prevent them, and obſervations on the advantage of which it will be productive to the public. C.

America.

A political paradox. 6 d. *Almon.* —— A ſling at the miniſtry,—who have declared, on a ſolemn occaſion, "their deſire of reſtoring to America the bleſſings of law and liberty [xxxviii. 562.]." To prove their ſincerity, theſe bleſſings, it is remarked, are tendered to the Americans by the hands of 40,000 lawgivers from Britain and Germany. M.

A letter to Dr Price on his "Additional Obſervations," &c. [98.] 6 d. *Southern.* —— Contains ſome pertinent, though trite remarks. M.

The American criſis. 1 s. *Flexney.* —— Nothing new. Recommends the proſecution of the war with vigour, and the temperate uſe of victory. C.

A calm addreſs to the inhabitants of England. By John Wesley. 3 d. *Fry* ——Employed on the ſame ſubject with the former [xxxvii. 571. & 621.]; being intended to expoſe the injuſtice of the American claim to independency, as well as the ridiculous notion of that liberty which the rebels pretend to aſſert. C.

Sermons on the general faſt, Dec. 13. 1776.

Judgement begun in the houſe of God, to be finiſhed on its enemies. In Duke-ſtreet chapel, Weſtminſter. By G Mariot, Rector of Alphamſton in Eſſex. 1 s. *Flexney.* —— Differs from moſt of the faſt-ſermons in this reſpect, that Popery is the chief object of the author's fears and apprehenſions, and the main theme of his animated and not inelegant declamation. We approve his zeal againſt the Babyloniſh harlot, ſo far as it is prudently and ſeaſonably exerted; but we do not think the faſt day was the proper time for giving the old Jezebel her *dreſſing*. M.

Subjection to the higher powers. A ſermon by S. John Chryſoſtom, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, near 1400 years ago, explaining that celebrated paſſage upon government, Rom. xiii. 1.—11. Tranſlated from the Greek, and preached to a country-congregation.—To which is added, a letter from a late judge, concerning the right of Great Britain to tax her colonies. With an Appendix. By Ed. Lewis, M. A. Rector of Waterſtock and Emington, Oxon. 1 s. *Rivington.* —— The "Letter from a judge," is ſaid to have been written, in 1763, by the late Sir Joſeph Yeates, and addreſſed to Chriſtopher Griffith, Eſq; at that time member for the county of Berks; and contains ſome arguments in ſupport of the deſign of taxing America, which have, ſince, been irrefragably anſwered by the advocates on the other ſide.—Of Mr Lewis's amiable candor, moderation, and decency of deportment in the field of controverſy, take the following ſpecimen, from his Appendix. —After an invective againſt modern patriotiſm, he thus proceeds. "Suppoſe that in conſequence of theſe patriotic notions of a natural and inalienable right, &c.—I ſhould ſhoot my worthy friend and neighbour, the collector of the window-tax, who, backed by the authority of the whole legiſlature, attempted to enter my houſe, in order to diſtrain my goods, and to ſell them, to pay the ſaid tax. Does Reaſon ſay, I ſhould merit applauſe as a patriot and friend to Liberty, or that I ought to be hanged as a rebel and a murderer? Think as you pleaſe, but I am ſure my conſcience would fly in my face, and tell me that hanging was too gentle a death for ſuch a villain. [So far you ſay well, Mr Lewis;—go on, Sir!] But at the ſame time, does not there ſeem to be ſome reaſon that that factious leveller, Dr Price, ſhould meet with the ſame fate, with his liberty-book, lying calculations, and city cup dangling at his backſide, [O fye, Mr Lewis!], in readineſs to receive [hold your noſe, Reader!] the laſt diſcharge of nature [out upon you, Mr Lewis!] in her laſt efforts, and for a recompence to Jack Ketch, for executing a deed of more merit, than that whereby its preſent owner gained it."—Enough of Maſter Lewis, Rector of Waterſtock and Emington! M.

National proſperity and national religion inſeparably connected. By C. De Coetlogon, M A. 1 s. *Oliver.* —— We are ſeldom diſpoſed to controvert the doctrines uſually enforced at the Lock; and were we, at this time, inclined to animadvert on ſome of the immoderately good things advanced in the preſent ſermon, we ſhould be effectually withheld by the benevolent words printed at the bottom of the title-page, viz. "For the benefit of the Lock Hoſpital." M.

The

The ſcripture-precept of ſubjection to civil government, ſtated and enforced. At Nottingham, by Thomas Prentice. 6 d. *Boſcy.* —— Another pious recommendation of the ſlavith doctrine of paſſive obedience. According to this gentleman's principles, if taken in their full extent, (of which he is, perhaps, not aware), the Glorious Revolution was a moſt unchriſtian meaſure. This preacher may be a ſincere, well-meaning divine, but he is a very indifferent politician. M

The nature of religious abſtinence, as a means of depretiating national calamities, and averting the heavy judgements of God. By the Rev. George Kelly, jun. B. A. 6 d. *Brw.* ——Having expended our whole ſtock of praiſe on the faſt-ſermons of an Hurd, a Butler, a Radcliff, a Stebbing, a Leland, &c. we are ſorry to find that we have none left for the performance of poor Mr Kelly: who ſeems to be a mighty good ſort of man. M.

Natural Hiſtory, Medicine, Mathematics, &c.

Philoſophical Tranſactions, of the royal ſociety of London. Vol. 66. for the year 1776. Part 2. 4to. 7 s. 6 d. ſewed. *L. Davis.* —— We extract an experiment of parting freſh water from ſalt by freezing, by Thomas Barker, Eſq; viz. "In the ſevere froſt laſt January, ſome ſalt water being ſet abroad, froze into an ice, which was not ſolid but porous, the hollows being filled with the ſalteſt part of the water; for the ice, when drained, was quite freſh. The ſalt water, being again ſet abroad, froze as before: what remained ſtill unfrozen was now become exceeding ſalt; but the ice, drained and diſſolved, was little if at all brackiſh. This agrees with what Capt. Cook mentions in his late voyage, that in 61° 35′ ſouth latitude they filled their water-caſks with freſh water, melted out of ice found floating in the ſea [132]. By this experiment, if another time more fully repeated, it may be found to what degree the ſaltneſs of water may be increaſed, by continuing to freeze away the freſh water.—May not the knowledge of this be of uſe to the ſalt-makers, eſpecially in cold countries? The ſun is ſtrong enough of itſelf between the tropics to dry away the ſea-water into ſalt; and, I think, at the ſalt-works near Lymington, they increaſe the ſaltneſs of the ſea-water by drying it away in the ſun before they boil it into ſalt. And this ſeems to be another means of parting freſh water from the ſalt, which would ſave expence in boiling it away, and may be of uſe in the cold countries, and in winter."

The elements of botany; containing the hiſtory of the ſcience; with accurate definitions of all the terms of art, exemplified in ſeven copper-plates; the theory of vegetables; the ſcientific arrangement of plants, and names uſed in botany; rules concerning the general hiſtory, virtues, and uſes of plants. Being a tranſlation of the *Philoſophia Botanica* and other treatiſes of the celebrated Linnæus. By Hugh Roſe, apothecary. 6 s. boards. *Cadell.* —— Executed with judgement and accuracy. The tranſlator has added, a deſcription of ſome plants lately found in Norfolk and Suffolk, never before diſcovered in England, or not deſcribed as Engliſh plants. M.

The art of healing; or, A new practice of phyſic. By Thomas Marryat, M. D. Edit. 5 with alterations and additions. 5 s. in boards. *Robinſon.* —— Marryat has in great meaſure adopted the model of Dr Buchan's uſeful and popular work; but in a way which is far from betraying a ſervile adherence to the authority, either of that, or any other medical treatiſe. C.

An examination of the charge brought againſt inoculation, by De Haven, Raſt, Dimſdale, and other writers. By John Watkinſon, M. D. 1 s. 6 d. *J. Johnſon.* —— The charge is, That inoculation ſpreads the variolous contagion, and increaſes the mortality of the natural ſmall pox. Dr Watkinſon, however, produces the ſtrongeſt evidence to prove that ſuch an opinion is totally groundleſs and chimerical. C [xxvii. 427].

A ſupplement to calculations of the value of annuities, publiſhed for the uſe of ſocieties inſtituted for benefit of age. Containing various illuſtrations of the doctrine of annuities, and complete tables of the value of 1 l. immediate annuity (being the only ones extant by half-yearly intereſt and payments). Together with inveſtigations of the ſtate of the Laudable Society of annuitants; ſhewing what annuity each member hath purchaſed, and real mortality therein, from its inſtitution, compared with Dr Halley's table. Alſo ſeveral publications, letters, and anecdotes, relative to that ſociety, and explanatory of proceedings to the preſent year. To which are added, a table and obſervations to elucidate the ſubject of the national debt, occaſioned by Mr Laurie's Remarks on Dr Price's Obſervations. 2 s. 6 d. *Ridley.* —— Mr Dale endeavours to open the eyes of his deluded aſſociates, and to prevent the complicated ruin which muſt eventually accrue from an inſtitution founded and continued on an inequitable plan. What opinion can be reaſonably formed of thoſe who contentedly receive 24 l. *per ann.* inſtead of 15 l. after the cleareſt evidence of the inability of the inſtitution to make ſuch a payment at preſent, much leſs to continue it for the future? M.

Entertainment.

A dialogue on friendſhip and ſociety. 2 s. 6 d.

2 s. 6 d. ſewed. *Becket.* —— Evinces the author (the ingenious Mrs Dobſon of Liverpool) to be endowed with great ſenſibility of mind, as well as diſcernment, and an ardent love of ſocial virtue. C.

'Squire Randal's excurſion round London; or, A week's frolic, in the year 1776. With the remarks of John Trufly. 2 s. *Richardſon and Urquhart.* —— Lively and inſinuating. From this recital of a week's frolic, a perſon unacquainted with the capital may form a general idea of the many different ſcenes which it exhibits. C.

Plays and Poetry.

Sir Thomas Overbury: A tragedy. Altered from the late Mr Richard Savage [43.]. As now performing at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-garden. 1 s. 6 d. *Newbery.* —— It were to have been wiſhed, that the alterations had been made by a bolder hand, and with a leſs ſervile "deference to the manuſcript of the author."— Savage wrote under the preſſure of misfortune, ſufficient to have damped the moſt towering ſpirit: but his ideas of tragedy do not ſeem to have riſen beyond that claſs eſtabliſhed by Addiſon and Hughes, never riſing to the magnificence of Shakeſpeare, but now and then catching a faint gleam from Otway, and his diſtant follower, Rowe. In imitation of all theſe authors, the acts are concluded with ſimiles and rhymes, and the language in general reliſhes more of poetry than nature. M.

Rona; a poem, in ſeven books. Illuſtrated with a correct map of the Hebrides, and elegant engravings. By John Ogilvie, D. D. 4to. 12 s. 6 d. boards. *Murray* —— This poem derives its title from the remoteſt of the Hebrides, or Weſtern iſles of Scotland. Dr Ogilvie informs us, that the firſt idea of it was ſuggeſted by the following anecdote, mentioned by Mr Martin, relative to the cauſes which laid waſte the iſland of Rona. "A ſwarm of vermin deſtroyed the little produce of their fields; their cattle were rendered uſeleſs by the barbarity of ſome ſeamen; and they received no ſupplies from the neareſt iſland (that of Lewes) for a twelvemonth, their communication having been interrupted during that time partly by a tempeſtuous ſeaſon, and partly by accidental occurrences. Theſe cauſes co-operated with ſuch efficacy, as to ſweep off (ſays Mr Martin) all that ancient race of people. "The ſteward of St Kilda (ſays he) told me, that having been driven into Rona by a ſtorm, he found a woman with a child at her breaſt, both lying dead on the ſide of a rock." — If Dr Ogilvie is intitled to approbation for the diſplay of this inventive faculty, he has a yet more meritorious claim to the praiſe of criticiſm, on account of the important moral which he endeavours to inculcate. —This elegant poem is truly animated and deſcriptive. C. — This poem is not deſtitute of ſpirit and genius, but it is in general written in a bad ſtyle and taſte. M.

The Fingal of Oſſian, an ancient epic poem, in ſix books. Tranſlated from the original Gaelic language by Mr James Macpherſon, and now rendered into heroic verſe. By Ewen Cameron. 4to. 15 s. boards. *Robſon.* —— With a view to eſtabliſh the authenticity of the poems of Oſſian, beſides the atteſtations collected by Dr Blair, at Edinburgh [xxv. 205.], relative to this ſubject, Mr Cameron has prefixed to his work many juſt and forcible remarks, in reply to the ſeveral objections made by Dr Johnſon, againſt the credibility of the fact. — A metrical verſion of the ſame poem, we find, was publiſhed almoſt five years ago [xxxiii 305.], which, through an unaccountable neglect, has hitherto never appeared in our Review. We are extremely glad, however, to have an opportunity of reſcuing it from the unmerited oblivion in which it has lain ſo long a time. — [Theſe Reviewers inſert ſeveral paſſages, ſucceſſively, from Macpherſon, Cameron, and the verſion publiſhed ſome years ago; and conclude thus.] After impartially contraſting thoſe ſeveral poems, we may pronounce, that neither of the metrical verſions is chargeable with being paraphraſtic, but that ſometimes the one and ſometimes the other adheres more cloſely to the original. In point of elegance and ſpirit, the tranſlation of the anonymous author is in general ſuperior to that of Mr Cameron, whoſe cadence is often extremely proſaic, and his rhymes intolerably diſſonant. We may add, however, that in the expreſſion of ſome of the moſt beautiful ſentiments and images, both theſe verſions appear only as foils to the admirable ſimplicity and energy of the proſe tranſlation. We ought not to conclude this article without obſerving, that Mr Cameron has favoured his readers with many judicious annotations, occaſionally intermixed with the remarks of Mr Macpherſon, and Dr Blair; and that the anonymous author has prefixed to his verſion an ode, which, for ſentiment, imagery, and enthuſiaſm, does honour to his poetical talents. C. —— Mr Macpherſon endeavoured to make Homer ſpeak like the Engliſh Oſſian; Mr Cameron has attempted to make Oſſian ſpeak like the Engliſh Homer: both have failed: but ſome reſpect was due to the former, as to a man of genius, whoſe labour was miſemployed; the latter, equally void of talents and taſte, has no claim to our attention. M.

Poems, ſuppoſed to have been written at Briſtol, by Thomas Rowley, and others, in the fifteenth century, the greateſt part now firſt publiſhed from the moſt authentic copies, with an engraved ſpecimen of one of the

the MSS. To which are added, a preface, an introductory account of the ſeveral pieces, and a gloſſary, 5 s. in boards. *Payne.* —— A more curious and entertaining publication than this is very rarely offered to the public — The editor has executed his taſk in the moſt liberal and intelligent manner. C.

A monody, ſacred to the memory of Eliſabeth Ducheſs of Northumberland. 6 d. *Dodſley.* —— Inferior to the author's deſcriptive poem Hagley. M.

Purſuit after happineſs: A poem, &c. 2 s. 6 d. *Kearſley.* —— In this production the fancy is preſented with many luxurious and intereſting objects; the purſuit, however, terminating in the attainment of virtue, as the only path that leads to happineſs. C.

An elegy; occaſioned by the death of a lady's linnet. 1 s. *Davies.* —— This lyric elegy, which contains a variety of ingenious ſentiments, expreſſed in flowing verſe, appears to be the produce of a warm imagination, extremely ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions. C.

The Goat's beard. A fable. 1 s. 6 d *Dodſley.* —— An amplification of one of Phædrus's Fables, which the Engliſh author has extended in an eaſy and lively manner. The narrative is conducted with ſimplicity, and the deſcription is pictureſque. C. —— Has a conſiderable degree of merit. It is eaſy and ſpirited. M.

Aſſes ears: A fable. Addreſſed to the author of the Goat's beard. 6 d. *Riley* —— An ill-natured and ſatirical attack on the Laureat, for his lively fable which is the ſubject of the preceding article. It is not, however, void of pleaſantry. M.

A familiar epiſtle from C. Anſley, Eſq; to C. W. Bampfielde, Eſq; tranſlated, and addreſſed to the ladies. 1 s. *Almon.* —— A tranſlation, not ill executed, of the Latin epiſtle mentioned in our laſt [42.]. C.

The economy of Beauty; in a ſeries of fables; addreſſed to the ladies. By Dr Coſens. 10 s. 6 d. boards. *Walter.* —— Introduced by a variety of moral obſervations, and diverſified with little ſallies of wit, and occaſional ſtrokes of ſatire. C.

The new paradiſe of dainty devices: conſiſting of original poems. By different hands. 2 s. 6 d *Almon.* —— Chiefly of the humourous kind, intermixed ſometimes with the vulgar ribaldry of political prejudices. C.

The Garrulous Man. 6 d *Wilkie.* —— A parody upon *L'Allegro* of Milton, written much in the manner of that poet. C.

Poetical excurſions in the iſle of Wight. 2 s. 6 d. *Conant.* —— Diſcovers a fund of poetical fancy. C.

Wittenham Hill, a deſcriptive poem. By W. Hurn. 2 s. 6 d. *Robinſon.* —— Abounds not ſo much in deſcription, as in hiſtorical anecdotes and alluſions. C.

Madge's addreſs to Chriſtopher Twiſtwit, Eſq; Bath Laureat, and Miller's Plumian Profeſſor. 1 s. 6 d. *Bew.* —— Honeſt Madge ſeems inclined, at leaſt, to be in a facetious humour; but, perhaps, by not previouſly examining the object with her ſpectacles, ſhe has directed her raillery againſt a kinſman; for we ſtrongly ſuſpect that Madge is a limb of the Twiſtwit family. C.

Ode to Dragon, Mr Garrick's houſe-dog, at Hampton. 6 d. *Cadell.* —— A ſop to Cerberus, but which may be reliſhed even without a canine appetite for poetical offals. — Love me, love my dog. C.

The electrical eel; or, Gymnotus electricus. Inſcribed to the honourable members of the R—l S—y, by Adam Strong, naturaliſt. 1 s. 6 d. *Bew.* —— Poetical ſmut. Rochеſter revived. M.

An heroic epiſtle from Donna Tereſa Pinna y Ruiz, of Murcia, to Richard Twiſs, Eſq; F. R. S. 4to. 1 s. 6 d. *Kearſley.* —— When author-travellers make their remarks on a country, or on its inhabitants, they publiſh at their peril, and muſt abide the conſequences. Thus Johnſon freely delivered his opinion of Scotland; and the Scots were angry. Thus Twiſs ſpoke, in ſome particulars, diſreſpectfully of Ireland [xxxviii. 379.]; and we have heard of his meeting with diſagreeable effects of Iriſh reſentment. This ſatire is written after the manner of the celebrated heroic epiſtle to Sir W. Chambers. There is wit, and there is humour in it, with an eaſy and harmonious flow of verſification. M.

An heroic anſwer from Richard Twiſs, Eſq; to Donna Tereſa Pinna y Ruiz. 4to. 1 s 6 d. *Kearſley* —— Written, as we ſuppoſe, by the ſame ingenious author. The notes, in both pieces, are extracted from Twiſs's Travels, and add no ſmall embelliſhment to the poetry. M.

EDINBURGH.

A plan for the better providing for the poor of the city of Edinburgh, by an alteration of the ſyſtem of management of the charity-workhouſe. Drawn up for the information of a committee appointed by the Judges of the Court of Seſſion, and the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates, for the purpoſe of inſpecting the management of that charitable eſtabliſhment, and now humbly ſubmitted to the conſideration of the inhabitants. By a citizen of Edinburgh. [Sir W——m F——s.] 6 d. *Creech.*

From this pamphlet we learn, That the charity-workhouſe of Edinburgh was erected in the year 1740; — that it was ſoon diſcovered, that the funds allotted for the ſupport of the houſe, were by no means equal to the unavoidable expence of the eſtabliſhment, ſo that the managers were obliged to collect,

ſolicit a public general collection;—that, including a collection in the year 1775, no leſs has been contributed by ſuch collections, than 10,735 l. Sterling;—that about 1250 bolls of meal, 300 bolls of bear, and 230 bolls of wheat, are annually conſumed in the houſe;—that in June 1774, the numbers, maintained in the houſe were, 102 men, 306 women, 101 boys, and 101 girls, who all lived in the houſe, 119 children at board in the country, 78 quarterly penſioners, 73 weekly penſioners, 28 lunatics in bedlam, 25 criminals in the houſe of correction or bridewell, 13 beggars ſeized in the ſtreets, and in confinement in the houſe of correction, 11, houſe-keeper, clerks, and other ſervants of the family, in all 957; and by an average of eight years, from 1765 to 1773, the annual expence of ſupporting theſe amounted to L 3544: 19: 6;—and that the children in the houſe are of different ages, from four or five years, at which period they are uſually taken from their keepers in the country, to the age of twelve or fourteen, when they are put apprentices to buſineſs, or ſent to ſervice.

It is propoſed, to aboliſh entirely the practice of rearing children in the houſe, and to bring them up altogether in the country, by which the children would be more healthy, and a conſiderable expence would be ſaved;—to divide the grown up people in the houſe into two claſſes, thoſe who are unable to do any work, and thoſe who can work in part for their own ſupport; to remove the former into a ſeparate almſhouſe, and to give each of the latter an allowance in money, according as they ſhall be more or leſs able to do ſomething for themſelves, not more than the price of ſeven pounds of meal weekly, beſides the full price of their work; to live in the houſe, and have an allowance of coals, themſelves to prepare their own victuals; to be removed to the hoſpital when ſick, and to the almſhouſe when old, and incapable to work;—inſtead of baking and brewing in the houſe, to contract for the delivery of theſe and every other article of conſumption ready prepared;—to diſmiſs ſeveral of the perſons now employed in the ſervice of the houſe, whoſe ſervice will be unneceſſary, when the old ſhall be divided into two claſſes, and the young ſhall be reared entirely in the country;—that liſts of the poor ſhould be made up once a quarter, or half-year, by the conſtables, expreſſing the number, names, and occupation of each family, and diſtinguiſhing children, ſervants, and lodgers;—and that application ſhould be made to every ſociety who aſſemble for religious worſhip ſeparate from the eſtabliſhed church, requeſting an annual collection in their meeting houſes, or ſuch other aid as they ſhall judge moſt proper. A calculation is made, by which it appears that upwards of 500 l. per ann. would be ſaved by the mode propoſed.—One particular in this humane pamphlet is ſo affecting, that we muſt inſert the paragraph entire.

"There is one ſpecies of begging which calls loudly on every feeling of humanity to put an immediate ſtop to it. Begging in general is a voluntary occupation; and if thoſe who practiſe it are ſubjected to the inclemency of the weather, in the courſe of their walks, they chearfully ſubmit to it, for the ſake of the pleaſure and advantage they derive from ſuch a roving, idle life. A ſturdy beggar, who is the peſt of ſociety, will undergo any hardſhip, provided he can but procure what he conſiders as indiſpenſable to his happineſs, a warm fire at night, a hot ſupper, a dram, and his truſſ. But there are hundreds of children, from five years old and upwards, whoſe parents are inhuman enough to ſend them abroad in the morning to beg throughout the day; and compel them to remain in the ſtreets until they are almoſt petrified with cold, at the lateſt hours of the evening, and in the moſt rigorous ſeaſons of the year.—Every one muſt have obſerved ſuch unhappy infants lying in corners of the ſtreets, endeavouring, by their cries, to attract the pity of the paſſenger; and afraid to go home, without ſome alms, leſt they ſhould be beaten by their parents for their want of ſucceſs. It is very difficult to prevent every degree of wretchedneſs cauſed by thoſe who are chiefly diſtinguiſhed by their barbarity; but the utmoſt endeavours ſhould be uſed to find out the parents of ſuch children, and inflict a proper degree of correction on them. If the children be actually deſerted, as it is believed there are many ſuch, who are employed by beggars, not their parents, as implements of extorting charity, they ſhould be properly taken care of."

The pamphlet concludes thus.

"This plan is now humbly ſubmitted to the conſideration of the inhabitants, who are ſo eſſentially intereſted in the proper management of the funds very liberally beſtowed for the ſupport of the poor. It is earneſtly requeſted, that thoſe who have had better opportunity than the writer, of knowing the police of other countries in regard to the poor, or have employed their thoughts on a ſubject of ſuch general utility, will be pleaſed to point out any objections that may be offered againſt the plan, or any improvements which may render it more perfect, or more practicable. Every the ſlighteſt hint will be gratefully received. And letters addreſſed to the care of the clerk of the Charity-workhouſe, will be carefully attended to, —— by

A CITIZEN of EDINBURGH."

ELE-

ELEGY on the death of a Brother, who died in the West Indies, in Autumn 1776.

For we were nurs'd upon the self-same hill,
Fed the same flock by fountain, shade, and rill.
MILT. LYCID.

AND art thou gone? my soul's best, dearest part!
And can I never, never see thee more?
To whom shall I now pour my plaintive heart,
Since thou liest breathless on a foreign shore?
Was it to urge this timeless, cruel fate,
That we endur'd the pang of parting love?
Was it to hasten thy unhappy date,
I saw thee, sorrowing, from the plain remove?
Ah! why didst thou, too vent'rous, seek to roam
Beyond these vales, with health and safety blest?
Why seek to plow the hoar Atlantic foam,
Or view the isles which Plague's alarms infest?
O mad ambition! curs'd desire of gold!
Thou pregnant source of ev'ry mortal woe!
Whose hapless vot'ries, desperately bold,
Dare ev'ry danger, ev'ry bliss forego.
No more, alas! shall we together stray,
Or climb the hill, or skip along the glade,
Or sit at noon, and wake th' alternate lay,
Amid the fragrance of the birchen shade.
Lamented youth! cropp'd in thy early prime!
As when a flower, emitting first perfume,
Is quick transplanted to a parched clime,
Just blown and blasted in its fairest bloom.
Tho' Fate forbids this willing hand to pay
Due obsequies to thy endear'd remains,
The grateful Muse, tho' sad, shall yet essay
To soothe thy shade in warm, tho' artless strains.
While now I consecrate this fun'ral song,
An honest tribute to thy sportless fame,
Each grove and grotto, as I move along,
I'll teach to echo lovely Damon's name.
Thy dirge once sung, I'll seek some distant hill,
And hang my harp upon a blasted spray;
Beside some dark and melancholy rill,
Accordant to the owl's nocturnal lay.
Ye shepherds! then, I must your sport forego,
And stray alone, from noisy mirth remote;
'Tis meet that I should now indulge my woe,
And to deep sorrow all the day devote.
Ye generous minds! have I not cause to mourn?
Or can ye blame this pious, bursting tear,
When from my inmost bosom all is torn,
That in a brother and a friend was dear?
O wasteful Autumn! how I dread thy pow'r!
So fatal to each blooming flow'r and tree;
But now thy hand has pluck'd the fairest flow'r,
Which made it summer all the year to me,
Ye naked groves! why should I mourn for you?
Spring shall return, and breathe prolific air,
Inspire your song, and all your bloom renew;
But, ah! it ne'er can my sad loss repair.
Yet hark! fresh sounds of woe assault my ears,
And mock all hopes of fixing on relief;
The wail of parents, friends, all bath'd in tears,
Swells the full tide of overflowing grief.
Twice ten revolving summers saw our hearts,
With length'ning time still more and more unite;
Now ruthless Death the sacred band disparts,
And seals thy eyes in shades of endless night.
No, tyrant! no: his image still I'll bear,
Engraved deep in this devoted breast;
Yet we shall join, and bliss perpetual share,
Which never more thy terrors dare molest.
Banks of Dee, Jan. 28. DAPHNIS.

On the Death of a FLORIST.

Illum etiam lauri, illum etiam flevêre myricæ.
VIRG.

AUriculas, with me your loss deplore,
And open sable next, or ope no more:
Let every tulip hang its drooping head,
And mourn a lover to Elysium fled.
Narcissus, now so pallid be thy hue,
That in the stream 'twere safe thyself to view.
Each flow'ry tribe, with me your sorrows blend,
You lost a cultivator, I a friend:
Who now shall tend your beds with equal care?
For you parterres of richest mold prepare?
Shall build warm sheds, nor labour grudge, nor cost,
To guard from Northern blasts and nipping frost,
But open to the sun's meridian ray,
That with your beauties your fond beams might play?
His curious hand shall sort your bulbs no more:
He's gone himself, and wither'd like a flower:
Ye that remain, attend, and deck his herse,
His name perfuming better than my verse!

On the melancholy situation of a certain unfortunate Divine. [110.]

HER awful sword, when sacred Justice rears
The sharpen'd point she moistens with her tears:
In wounds,—not death!—she places all her joy,
Her aim to punish only,—not destroy!
Justice and Mercy—twins by Nature giv'n,—
That fear'd on earth,—but this belov'd in heav'n!
On the same pillow both recline to rest,
Asunder, wretched!—but together, blest!
Oh! may the prince, who's born a Briton's friend,
Self judging,—his prerogative extend!

And,

And, if the Law ſhould fatally prevail,
May he ſtern Juſtice weigh in Mercy's ſcale!
Leiceſterſhire. W. W.

Written by an Unhappy Priſoner. [108.]

AMidſt confinement's miſerable gloom,
'Midſt the lone horrors of this wretched room;
What comforts, gracious Heaven! deſt thou beſtow
To ſoothe my ſorrows, and conſole my woe!
A wife, beyond the firſt of woman-kind,
Tender, attach'd, and even to death reſign'd;
Dear youthful friends, in life's ingenuous hour
As children zealous to exert each power;
Men, ſkill'd in Wiſdom's moſt ſagacious lore,
Solicitous to aid, to ſave,—reſtore!
Lawyers and counſellors without a fee
Studious to guide, direct, and ſet me free!
Nay—from the men I falſely deem'd my foes,
The ready offer of all ſervice flows:
While Gratitude, in guiſe unknown, draws nigh,
Says "I was kind," and tenders her ſupply!
—Above the reſt, my keepers, ſooth'd to grief,
With ſympathetic pity give relief;
Treat as a gueſt the ſufferer they revere,
And make it even tranquil to be here!
Great God of Mercy! if amidſt my woes
A ſtream of ſuch peculiar comfort flows;
Flows full, flows only from thy care divine,
May I not humbly, firmly, Lord, reſign;
And truſt the iſſue to thy care alone?
Yes, Lord, I truſt: "O may thy will be done!"
Woodſtreet Compter, Feb. 16.

The VIOLET. By the Rev. Mr WOTY.

SErene is the morn, the lark leaves his neſt,
And ſings a ſalute to the dawn;
The ſun with his ſplendor embroiders the eaſt,
And brightens the dew on the lawn:
While the ſons of debauch to indulgence give way,
And ſlumber the prime of their hours,
Let us, my dear Stella, the garden ſurvey,
And make our remarks on the flow'rs.

The gay gaudy tulip obſerve as you walk,
How flaunting the gloſs of its veſt!
How proud! and how ſtately it ſtands on its ſtalk,
In beauty's diverſity dreſt!
From the roſe, the carnation, the pink, and the clove,
What odours inceſſantly ſpring!
The South warts a richer perfume to the grove,
As he bruſhes the leaves with his wing.

Apart from the reſt, in her purple array,
The violet humbly retreats:
In modeſt concealment ſhe peeps on the day,
Yet none can excel her in ſweets:
So humble, that (tho' with unparallel'd grace
She might e'en a palace adorn)
She oft' in the hedge hides her innocent face,
And grows at the foot of the thorn.

So beauty, my fair-one, is doubly refin'd,
When modeſty heightens her charms;
When meekneſs, like thine, adds a gem to her mind,
We long to be lock'd in her arms.
Tho' Venus herſelf from her throne ſhould deſcend,
And the Graces await at her call—
To thee the gay world would with preference bend,
And hail thee the vi'let of all.

RHAPSODY to TASTE,

On ſeeing the Ducheſs of Devonſhire in full dreſs.

COme, thou goddeſs fair and free,
Whom the meek nymph, Simplicity,
To the ſon of Maia bore,
And nurs'd upon th' Athenian ſhore,
Then to thy ſire her charge reſign'd;
Who to ſuch elegance of mind
Added, whatever poliſhed eaſe
Could give, and all the arts to pleaſe:
Whether on Reynholds (beauty's friend)
Thou biddeſt every grace attend;
Or ſmiling doſt in ſportive ſong
Hail the great gueſt of Kien Long *:
Hither, various goddeſs, haſte,
Boundleſs, inimitable Taſte,
And ſave thoſe charms from faſhion's tawdry reign,
Which nature gave to Devon, and gave in vain—
From her cumbrous forehead tear
The architecture of her hair,
But leave one ſnow-white plume to ſhew
It faintly mocks the neck below —
Snatch from her lips th' immodeſt guile
Of affectation's conſtant ſmile,
And on her cheek replace the roſe,
Which, pale and wan, no longer glows,
With all that beauty, youth, and love,
Could copy from ſome ſaint above —
Would ſhe promiſe real bliſs,
Bid her ſeem but what ſhe is:
Or if lovelier ſtill ſhe'd be,
From Granby learn to worſhip thee.
Lincoln's-Inn, New-Square. GOBLIN.

* *Sir William Chambers.*

ON TRUE HAPPINESS.

LOng have I ſought, the wiſh of all,
True happineſs to find,
Which ſome will wealth, ſome pleaſure call;
And ſome a virtuous mind.

Sufficient wealth to keep away,
Of want the doleful ſcene,
And joy enough to gild the day,
And make life's courſe ſerene.

Virtue enough to aſk the heart,
Art thou ſecure within?
Haſt thou perform'd an honeſt part?
Haſt thou no private ſin?

This to perform, theſe things poſſeſs,
Muſt raiſe a noble joy,
Muſt conſtitute that happineſs,
Which nothing can deſtroy.

MEMENTO.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

TURKY. [105.]

"*Conſtantinople, Jan.* 3. The troubles of the Crimea increaſe greatly, and threaten a rupture between Ruſſia and the Porte. Both theſe powers are engaged, by the third article of the treaty of Kainardgi, to acknowledge the Tartars of that peninſula, and of the neighbouring provinces, as free, and entirely independent of every foreign power. Ruſſia complains that the Porte inceſſantly contravenes the above ſtipulation; in conſequence of which the former is making diſpoſitions to enforce the accompliſhment of it.

Two large Ruſſian ſhips, of the number of thoſe which have been for ſome time expected here, entered this port on the 25th ult. and will be followed by four more of the ſame nation; but we know not at preſent whether they will continue their route to the Black ſea."

"*Vienna, Feb.* 8. By the laſt accounts from Conſtantinople, the differences between the Porte and Ruſſia augment more and more, as the former is determined, not to let the Ruſſian ſhips paſs into the Black ſea. The Ruſſian miniſter has had a conference with the Grand Vizir, in which he laid before him all the complaints which his court had againſt the Porte; among the reſt, that they were hindered from erecting churches in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Crimea. To all which the Grand Vizir very coolly anſwered, that the Grand Signior, his maſter, did not think himſelf obliged to adhere to all the agreements made by the late Grand Vizir, who was ſo ſuperannuated that he did not know what he did.— The ſame letters add, that the Grand Vizir was depoſed the 5th of January, and baniſhed to Gallipoli, and is to go from thence to Cyprus. He is ſucceeded by Muſtapha Baſſa."

ENGLAND. [110.]

The royal aſſent was given, by commiſſion, March 3. to

An act for enabling the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain to grant commiſſions, or letters of marque, to the commanders of private ſhips and veſſels, employed in trade, or retained in his Majeſty's ſervice, to take and make prize of all ſuch ſhips and veſſels, and their cargoes, as are therein mentioned, for a limited time. [90.]

An act to impower his Majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high treaſon, committed in any of his Majeſty's colonies or plantations in America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy. [134.]

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia in that part of Great Britain called England, for one year, beginning March 25. 1777.

An act to amend ſo much of an act 13° *Geo. III. (for eſtabliſhing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, as well in India as in Europe) as relates to the day on which the annual election of directors of the ſaid company is to be made.*

An act for veſting in David Hartley, Eſq; his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, the ſole uſe and property of a certain method, by him invented, of ſecuring buildings and ſhips againſt the calamities of fire, throughout his Majeſty's dominions, for a limited time. [xxxviii. 615.]

Eleven public bills, concerning roads and other matters of police, all in England; and twenty-one private.

And the royal aſſent was given, likewiſe by commiſſion, March 27. to twenty-five public and twenty-two private bills. The former relate all to roads or other matters of police. — One of them is "for continuing a duty of two pennies Scots upon every Scots pint of beer or ale vended or ſold within the town of Burntiſland, and liberties thereof;" — one "for limiting the exemptions from toll (granted by act or acts of parliament for repairing turnpike-roads) on account of cattle going to and from water or paſture;" — and one "to enable his Majeſty to licenſe a theatre in the city of Cheſter."

A full diſcovery has been made of the author of the fires at Portſmouth and Briſtol [48.] — About the end of January, one *John the Painter* was taken up at Hook, in Hants, for a burglary, and committed to Odiam gaol. Suſpicions ariſing of this man's being the incendiary, he was carried to London, and underwent ſeveral examinations before Sir John Fielding, ſome of the Lords of the Admiralty, &c. He was afterwards conveyed to Wincheſter gaol, and was tried at the aſſizes there on the 6th of March, for ſetting fire to the rope-houſe in the dock-yard at Portſmouth on December 7. 1776.— We give an account of the trial from the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

"To give the reader a clear idea of this man's character, it may be neceſſary to trace the ſteps which led to his diſcovery.

The fire which happened in the rope-houſe at Portſmouth, had paſſed for an accident; and as no ſuſpicion had fallen upon any one, no inquiry was made about it, till, on the 15th of January, Mr Ruſſel, one of the under-clerks of the dock-yard, having occaſion to move ſome hemp in the hemp-houſe, diſcovered the machine, of which we have already given an account. [xxxviii. 673.]

It was then that the whole dock-yard was alarmed. Some hundreds of workmen were inſtantly drawn together, and every one looked at his neighbour, convinced that whoever was the contriver of that machine, and had placed it there, was the incendiary.

This called to mind every minute circumſtance that had happened, previous to the breaking out of the fire on the day above mentioned; and it occurred to one, that a fellow had been locked into the rope-houſe the night before; to another, that a man, whoſe name was unknown, had been ſeen loitering about the yard on the very day; and to others, that he was a painter, and had worked in the neighbourhood; and as he had never been ſeen there after the fire, a ſtrong ſuſpicion aroſe, that he muſt be ſome way or other concerned in the miſchief that had already been done, and alſo in the diabolical deſign which providentially had been defeated.

It were needleſs to take notice of the advertiſement that followed, deſcribing the perſon of the man, and, under the name of *John the Painter*, offering him a reward of 50 l. to ſurrender himſelf to examination, and the ſame reward to any one who ſhould apprehend him. [48.]

In the mean time other fires broke out, particularly at Briſtol [48.], which could no otherwiſe be accounted for, than by ſuppoſing American agents employed to ſpread fire and devaſtation throughout the kingdom, where ever their malignant purpoſes could be executed with effect; an idea that favoured the prejudices of the vulgar, and therefore was the more eaſily credited.

It was not long, however, before Sir John Fielding found means to trace this John the Painter out; and he was apprehended, and carried to London for examination, (as before related).

The news of his commitment was ſoon ſpread; and it having been reported, that he had been in America, and had worked there as a painter, Earl Temple, and likewiſe Lord George Germaine, deſired one John Baldwin, a painter, who had likewiſe been in America, and had done buſineſs there, to attend his examination before Sir John Fielding, to ſee if he could recollect him. But Baldwin, upon looking at the man, and being aſked the queſtion, frankly declared that he had never before ſeen him in his life.

This open declaration, after others, as he ſaid, had borne falſe witneſs againſt him, prejudiced the priſoner in favour of Baldwin, and he expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to cultivate an acquaintance with him; which Baldwin did not decline, being encouraged to viſit him as often as opportunity offered, in order, if poſſible, to bring him to confeſſion. This had the deſired effect, and brought the whole ſcene of iniquity to light.

After a regular attendance on him for fifteen days, ſometimes once a-day, and ſometimes twice, the priſoner at length began to truſt him, and to ſpeak openly. He told him, he had been in France; that he had there ſeen Silas Deane; that Silas Deane had given him ſome money; had encouraged him to ſet fire to the dock-yards at Portſmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, &c. as the beſt means of diſtreſſing G. Britain; that he had promiſed to reward him according to the ſervice he ſhould do to the American cauſe; and that, as an earneſt of what ſhould follow, he had given him a recommendation to, and bills upon, a merchant in London, to the amount of 300 l. which, however, he had found it neceſſary to burn, to prevent a diſcovery; that, in conſequence of this encouragement, he procured a paſſport from the French King, (which paſſport he lamented that he had left at Portſmouth, with other things, in a bundle); that from France he came to Canterbury, where he deviſed the machine which had been found in the hemp-houſe, and had it there conſtructed; that before he left Canterbury he had a quarrel with a dragoon; that when he removed from thence, he directed his courſe to Portſmouth, where he prepared the combuſtibles with which he afterwards ſet the rope-houſe on fire; that he diſcloſed to him (Baldwin) the ſecret of making the compoſition,

compoſition, and the manner of his applying it; told him the circumſtance of his being locked in the rope-houſe; of his quarrelling with his landlady, on account of the interruption ſhe gave him in his operations; of her forcibly turning him out of her houſe; of his taking another lodging; of the difficulty he had in lighting his matches; of his purchaſing other matches; of his flight from Portſmouth in a woman's cart; with many other particulars; all of which were confirmed on his trial by the teſtimony of the perſons, reſpectively, who were any wiſe employed by him, or with whom he had any thing to do in the buſineſs. The boy who made the cannifter, the dragoon with whom he quarrelled at Canterbury, the woman at whoſe houſe he lodged at Portſmouth, the man who let him out of the rope-houſe, the perſons who ſaw him in the dock-yard, the woman who ſold him the matches, the woman who took him up in her cart in his flight from Portſmouth, and laſt of all the bundle in which was his paſſport from France, with the identical articles in it which he had ſpecifically mentioned to Baldwin; all theſe were produced againſt him; and, as the judge obſerved, in ſumming up the evidence, that from a chain of circumſtances attentively put together, ſuch a body of evidence may be drawn, as would be abundantly ſtronger than where two or three witneſſes ſwear to a poſitive fact, it is no wonder, therefore, that the jury, without going out of court, pronounced the priſoner GUILTY: and he being aſked in the uſual form, what he had to ſay why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him? replied, *he had nothing to ſay.*

He had, indeed, in making his defence, obſerved, upon the evidence of Baldwin, that from his (the priſoner's) name being publicly advertiſed, and the kingdom ſearched for charges againſt him, it might be eaſy for Baldwin, or ſuch a man as Baldwin, properly inſtructed, to form ſuch a ſtory, and to bring ſuch a number of witneſſes as he has done to confirm it: "Neverthelefs, (ſaid he), be it a falſe accuſation brought againſt me, or a betraying of truſt through the treachery of the man's heart, I ſhould like that your Lordſhip would take it into conſideration, whether ſuch a perſon has a right, in the ſight of God, and according to the laws of this kingdom, to give evidence againſt me; or, if he has, whether ſuch evidence ought to be regarded" He obſerved, likewiſe, on the witneſſes from Canterbury, that one ſays he was there about ſix weeks before Chriſtmas; another ſays, ſix or ſeven weeks; another, between Michaelmas and Chriſtmas; another, before or after the 20th of November; yet his paſſport is dated at Fountainbleau the 13th of November, ſo that he could not be there and at Canterbury at the ſame time. He was aſked, if he reſted his defence on theſe obſervations, or if he choſe to call any witneſſes? His anſwer was, "For what end? till ſomething is proved againſt me, I intend no defence in the world. I am ready to live and die according to juſtice."

When the judge, in pronouncing ſentence againſt him, ſaid, "You cannot be ſurpriſed that the law has thought fit to puniſh ſuch a crime with death; you can as little be ſurpriſed, if, after you have been convicted upon the cleareſt evidence of this offence, I can give you no hope of pardon;" he ſaid, *I do not look for any, my Lord.* And when in concluſion, his Lordſhip added, "I have only now to pronounce the *painful* ſentence of the law," the priſoner ſaid, "*joyful.*"

He was carried from Wincheſter gaol on the 10th of March, to Portſmouth dock-gate; where, before he was turned off, he ſaid, "I acknowledge the juſtneſs of my ſentence, and hope for forgiveneſs, as I forgive all the world: I wiſh ſucceſs to his Majeſty King George, and his family, and all his loyal ſubjects; and I hope for forgiveneſs for all the tranſactions I have been guilty of."

He recommended ſtrict vigilance at the dock-yards of Chatham, Woolwich, Deptford, Portſmouth, and Plymouth; becauſe, he ſaid, it was in the power of any determined reſolute man to do a great deal of miſchief.

After hanging the uſual time upon a gallows ſixty feet high, he was cut down, and immediately hung in chains."

Soon after the execution was publiſhed, *The voluntary confeſſion of James Aitken, commonly called* John the Painter, *while he was a priſoner in the gaol at Wincheſter, three days before his execution at Portſmouth*, viz.

"Saith, That he was born at Edinburgh, the 28th of September 1752, his mother now living, as he believes; curioſity

riofity led him to Virginia in America at the age of twenty one, as an adventurer, to ſeek his fortune; left America in March 1775.

In October 1775, by the name of *James Boſwell*, enliſted a private ſoldier in the 32d reg. at Graveſend; marched to Chatham next day; from whence he ſoon deſerted. Was not concerned in the fire in Temple ſtreet, Briſtol, nor privy to it. — Broke into Mr Morgan's warehouſe at Briſtol alone; no perſon concerned with him in that or any other accident that enſued in that city.— He intended to ſet fire to two houſes in Portſmouth, in order to employ the engines whilſt the fire might ſpread in the rope-yard.— Broke into Mr Morgan's warehouſe at Briſtol, in order to burn it, that the engines might be there employed whilſt the ſhipping were burning, and the quay, for which purpoſe he left a lighted candle burning in the ſaid warehouſe: and becauſe that fire did not take effect, he afterwards ſet fire to the warehouſes, Quay-lane, by getting over the top of the door.— Mr Deane told him, when the work was done (meaning the burning the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Woolwich, and Briſtol harbour) he ſhould make his eſcape, and come if poſſible to him at Paris, and he ſhould be rewarded. As a reward, his own expectations prompted him to hope that he ſhould be preferred to a commiſſion in the American army.

After ſetting fire to the rope-yard, he left Portſmouth, (to wit) the next night, being Sunday, he reached London, and went to Dr —— Weſtminſter, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Mr Deane, who gave him at Paris the Doctor's name in writing, and place of abode: but the Doctor would give him no countenance, and therefore did not relate the particulars of the miſchief he had done, to him, but hinted to him, that he would ſoon ſee or hear by the papers of an extraordinary accident that had happened; and he afterwards wrote ſuch an account in a letter to him, which he left himſelf at the Doctor's houſe with a perſon who came to the door; which, for the ſake of truth, he relates, and without intention of caſting any ſlur on the character of an innocent man.

That he ſaw the Doctor the day following in the coffeehouſe, and told him, that he would do all the prejudice he could do to this kingdom: to which the Doctor replied, he could not be of opinion with him in that reſpect; for that he got his bread in this kingdom, and therefore would not be concerned with him; and ſeeing that the Doctor did not approve of his conduct, he hoped he would not inform againſt him; to which the Doctor ſaid, he did not like to inform againſt any man.

When at Paris he was aſſiſted by Mr Deane with twelve ſix-livre pieces: he aſked for no more; neither did he receive from him any bank-bill, draft, or note whatever.

After leaving London, (to wit) at High Wycombe, he broke into a houſe, and took away a few linens, conſiſting of caps, handkerchiefs; but nothing of value. He then went to Oxford; from thence to Abingdon, where he attempted to break into two houſes, ſilverſmiths or watchmakers, but without effect. From thence he went to Fairford, where he broke into a houſe, and took from thence a number of ſtockings and handkerchiefs, a metal watch, and near 50 s. in ſilver and halfpence.— The watch he pledged for 16 s. in the name of *James Hall*, at a pawn-broker's in Caſtle-ſtreet, Briſtol.— After this, without attempting any thing, but having prepared ſome of his ingredients, he went from Briſtol to Plymouth, with intent to ſet fire to the dock-yard there. Twice he reached the top of the wall; but the watchmen being near, he could hear them talk together, eſpecially the laſt night, therefore he deſiſted. He never committed, or attempted to commit, any robbery, but when he was like to be drove ſhort of money.

After leaving Plymouth, he returned once more to Briſtol, with a determined reſolution then to ſet fire to the ſhipping in the harbour; and in his way to Briſtol at Taunton, he attempted to break into the houſe of a ſilverſmith or watchmaker, without effect.

He attempted the ſhipping a ſecond time; but, on account of the vigilance and ſtrictneſs of the watch then kept on the quay and in the ſhips, his attempt proved abortive. He likewiſe attempted on the Saturday morning, but in vain, to get into a ſtable or coach-houſe on the quay, in order to ſet fire to it; but ſeeing a man lying in a cart near the place, he deſiſted.

On Sunday morning following, he ſet fire to the warehouſe in Briſtol, in Quay-lane, which he effected in the following manner, (to wit), He bought ſome flax on

on the quay, and ſome turpentine at another place, but where he cannot remember, and with thoſe and charcoal, matches and gunpowder, and ſtriking a ſpark of light on tinder, to which he ſet a proper match, he effected his pupoſe: the match was made of touch-paper; and as that conſumed to the end, the powder being laid, and wrapt up likewiſe in touch-paper, it of courſe took fire, and ſo he preſumes it inſtantly mounted into a blaze.—Then he left the town; but ſeeing no fire behind, he returned back part of the way; till at laſt hearing the city was on fire, he then went on to Sodbury, and ſo, croſſing the country, to Marſhfield, and to Chippenham and Calne: but the firſt night after the fire he ſlept at Sodbury; the ſecond night, he broke open the door of an out houſe near it, where he ſlept, and left behind him in the morning a dark lantern.— On the Wedneſday night he went to Calne, and being near ſhort of money, broke open Mr Lowe's houſe, which robbery, as it is known, he has no occaſion to enlarge upon it: he left a parcel, with a piſtol and other things in the parcel, in the church-porch of Calne.

At Briſtol, he firſt broke into Mr Morgan's warehouſe, and there prepared the combuſtibles for ſetting fire to the ſhipping.

He never was in the 45th regiment, neither did he go to America in any regiment.

He never ſaid that one Brooks, or any other priſoner in Newgate, would be hanged, as was ſworn againſt him upon his trial; neither did he know any man by the name of *Brooks*.

His father was a blackſmith at Edinburgh, and he was apprenticed to a painter there, ſerved his time out, and then had his indentures delivered up, which he uſually carried about in his pocket, and afterwards burnt them; which gave riſe to the ſtory of his deſtroying papers to the value of three hundred pounds. Thoſe were the things of value which he meant to expreſs by what he had burnt.

As to any merchant in London, or any other perſon except Dr Bancroft, he had no recommendation to, or converſation with, reſpecting the many unhappy accidents before related.

That he ſtopped a poſt-chaiſe between Portſmouth and Peterſfield, with a gentleman and lady in it, ſome conſiderable time before the fire, and robbed them of nine ſhillings and ſixpence; of which he returned two ſhillings.

The latter end of December 1775, he enliſted at Chard, in Somerſetſhire, into the 13th regiment, with a recruiting-ſerjeant; and a few days after deſerted.

At Titchfield, as has been publicly mentioned, he followed the trade of a painter, alſo at Birmingham, with Mr Robinſon, at Warrington, and many other places.

That he had committed, and attempted to commit, ſeveral other burglaries and robberies, but of no material account to mention.

Declares, that all the acts therein mentioned, of a public as well as of a private nature, were of his own notion, and that he was not adviſed or inſtigated thereto by any perſon whatever, except what is before related; and that he had no accomplice.

One other circumſtance ſtrikes his preſent recollection, which he is deſirous to mention, and which happened in the city of Norwich, at the houſe of Mr Mark, where he ſtole two ſilver table-ſpoons and a pair of ſilver buckles, in the ſpring of 1776.

JAMES AITKEN."

Signed by James Aitken, and proteſted by him to contain the truth only, in the preſence of us, this 7th day of March, 1777.

GEO. DURNFORD,
N. P. SMITH,

Two of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace in and for the city of Winchester.

T. LAWRENCE, of the Bear Inn, Devizes."

Mr Lawrence of Devizes, who attended John the Painter at Winchester, in conſequence of a letter received from him, and who was preſent at, and atteſted his confeſſion, has publiſhed the following letter which he received from him by poſt. It is in his own hand-writing, dated from Winchester immediately after receiving the ſacrament on Sunday the 9th of March, and witneſſed by George Durnford, Eſq;

" Dear Mr Lawrence,

I have ſent you incloſed a further confeſſion of ſome particulars, which, with the others, I humbly deſire you will regulate into a proper ſtyle, and publiſh them, for the ſatisfaction of the world, and the clearing of the innocent.

I humbly beg for the compaſſion you have for me as a dying man, that you will write to my ſorrowful mother concerning my unhappy fate; but in the ſofteſt terms poſſible, as her grief, I know, will be very great on hearing of it.—Dear Sir, may the peace of God abide with you always. Amen.

I James Atkin was born in the city of Edinburgh; was brought up, from the 9th to the 15th year of my age, in Heriot's hoſpital; then was put apprentice to a painter for ſeven years, which time I ſerved out: after that I came to London, and from thence went to America, as an indented ſervant, with Capt. John Robertſon; but, when there, I made a verbal agreement with him to pay him 24 l. Virginia money for my liberty; but, after paying ſome of it to him, and a little more of it to a Mr Graham, I left that province without paying him the reſt of it, and went into North Carolina, from whence I ſailed to England, landing at Liverpool May 5. or 6. 1775, where I have committed many enormous crimes ſince, many of which I have told you. Amongſt others, I ſtopt a chaiſe, or litter, near Cambridge, and took from the man a bad ſhilling, I think ſometime about the month of Auguſt 1776.—Sometime after I broke into a houſe a few miles from Warrington, viz. between that and Holmes chapel, and took from thence handkerchiefs, and other things, and of money ſomething leſs than twenty ſhillings, I think. After that I broke into a houſe in a town a few miles from Coventry, and there took away a great quantity of handkerchiefs, ſixpence in ſilver, and ſome halfpence; I believe this was in the beginning of October 1776. After that, in a few days, and a few miles from Baſingſtoke, I committed a rape upon a girl that was keeping of ſheep, to my ſhame be it ſaid.

I likewiſe committed a burglary in the houſe of Mr Newnham, glaſier in Rumſey, and ſtole a few things out of it, among which were two diamonds ſuch as glaſiers uſe.

Beſides theſe I have committed a great number of crimes of a more petty nature, (that may leſs concern the general world both now and in my unhappy life); but I beg forgiveneſs of all the world, as they would with to be forgiven of God; and I, for my part, freely forgive all mankind, none excepted, even as I wiſh myſelf to be forgiven of God."

Marriages.

"*Liſbon, Feb.* 21. The marriage of the Prince of Beira with the Infanta Maria Franciſca Benedicta, his aunt, was ſolemnized this afternoon at four o'clock. After the ceremony, all the Royal Family were admitted into the King's apartment to kiſs his Majeſty's hand; from whoſe preſence they retired very much affected."

March 12. At Newhall, Mr James Jobſon merchant in Dundee, to Miſs Eliſabeth Crawfurd, youngeſt daughter of Mr James Crawfurd.

27. At Edinburgh, Robert Spottiſwood, Eſq; of London, to Miſs Cecilia Moſman, eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed Mr Hugh Moſman writer in Edinburgh. [xxxv. 103]

27. At Aberdeen, Duncan Forbes Mitchell of Thainſtone, Eſq; to Miſs Katharine-Anne Fraſer, daughter of William Fraſer of Fraſerfield, Eſq.

Birth.

March 10. At London, the Viſcounteſs Beauchamp, of a ſon.

Deaths.

Jan. At New York, Capt.-Lieut. William Buchanan, of the 35th regiment, eldeſt ſon of John Buchanan Kincaid of Corbeth.

"*Liſbon, Feb.* 26. His Moſt Faithful Majeſty has, for ſome weeks paſt, ſuffered extremely under his diſorder; which, terminating in a dropſy, increaſed within theſe few days ſo rapidly, that on Sunday laſt his Majeſty's life was deſpared of; and on Monday the 24th inſtant, between twelve and one o'clock, his Majeſty expired, to the great grief of all the Royal Family.—The Princeſs of Braſil being immediately informed of this melancholy event, prepared to receive the miniſters of ſtate; who kiſſed her hand as ſovereign."

March 3. At London, Sir Thomas Robinſon, Bt. He died without iſſue.

3. At Stony Bank, near Muſſelburgh, in the 77th year of his age, Dr Alexander Mackenzie.

3. At Glaſgow, Mr James Wardrop merchant in that city.

4. At Treeſbank, Mrs Campbell, widow of James Campbell of Treeſbank, Eſq

5. At Aberdeen, in the 95th year of her age, Mrs Helen Mackenzie, relict of Mr Robert Catanach merchant.

9. At Clyne, Roſsſhire, Mrs Kathrine Fraſer, widow of Colin Mackenzie of Mountgerald, Eſq; in the 79th year of her age.

14. At Findon, Roſsſhire, Miſs Lilias Mackenzie, only daughter of the late Sir Lewis Mackenzie of Seatwell, Bt.

14. At Aberdeen, Dr John Garioch, phyſician, and aſſiſtant profeſſor of mathematics in the Mariſchal college, Aberdeen.

15. At

15. At Edinburgh, Mr John Grant writer in Edinburgh.

15. At Craighall, William Wemyss, younger of Craighall, Esq.

15. At Elgin, Robert Anderson of Linkwood, Esq.

15. At Edinburgh, Mrs Sophia Fairholm, daughter of the deceased Thomas Fairholm, Esq; of Pilton.

17. At London, Mr and Mrs Lovell. They had been married only three weeks. Both fell sick and died within a few hours of each other.

20. At Earlshill, near Forres, James Russel, Esq.

21. At Glasgow, Mr William Ralston, surgeon in that city.

At his seat at Hanger, in the county of Cornwall, Samuel Mitchell, Esq; who many years ago resigned his commission of Colonel in his late Majesty's service. He has bequeathed 20l. per ann. to ten old maids; the like sum to as many poor housekeepers; and a very considerable sum to the parish; the income to be distributed annually in such charities as they approve; to his housekeeper, butler, steward, and valet, 1000l. each; to his coachman, footman, and groom, 500l. each; two livings, in his gift, to two neighbouring clergymen, after the death of the present incumbents, who are both very old. His estate devolves to a very distant relation, who is the heir; but a great part of his fortune being in money, he has left to a relation, wife to a person now on duty in America.

23. At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Wishart, spouse of James M'Dougall of Canonmills, Esq; and daughter of the late Principal Wishart of Edinburgh.

23. At Edinburgh, Ensign James Sinclair, of the 66th regiment, son of the late Mr Sinclair of Ulbster.

24. At Aberdeen, Mrs Harvey, widow of Alexander Harvey, Esq; of Antigua.

25. At Parkdargue, in the parish of Forgue, (in the 63d year of his age, and 36th of his ministry), Mr Alexander Smith, minister of an Episcopal congregation there.

26. At Touch, in the 94th year of his age, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, Bt.

27. At Pinmore, Mrs Kennedy senior of Pinmore.

27. At Glasgow, Mr Andrew Carrick, merchant in that city.

27. At Saffron Walden, in Essex, Jane Reeves, aged 103.

28. At Bletchingley workhouse in Surry, Thomas Stevens, aged 103.

28. At Edinburgh, Mr George Cooper, writer to the signet.

29. At Trowell, near Nottingham, Mr Blunston, a farmer, aged 104.

29. Mr Hayman, upwards of 100 years of age, formerly an officer under K. William. He was seized with a fit of an apoplexy when walking on Blackheath, near which place he resided, and instantly expired.

29. At Edinburgh, Mr David Boswell, an infant, son to James Boswell, Esq; Advocate, younger of Auchinleck.

31. At London-house, of an inflammatory disorder in his bowels, which brought on a mortification, Dr Richard Terrick, Bishop of London, Dean of the chapel-royal, a Governor of the Charter-house, and one of the Privy Council.

31. At Cockenzie, Mr William Cadell senior.

"*London, March* 22. There is now living at Idridge Hay, in the parish of Wirksworth, in Derbyshire, a man named James Simpson, who is in the 110th year of his age, who enjoys a good state of health, and has the entire use of all his faculties."

"*London, March* 31. There is now living on the island of Guernsey one Lewis Du Hamel, a native of Rouen in France, who is 116 years of age."

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleased,

March 4. to appoint the Rt Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate for Scotland, and Andrew Stuart of Craigthorn, in the county of Lanerk, to be Keepers of his Majesty's Signet in Scotland, [in the room of Sir Gilbert Elliot, deceased.]

— 29. to appoint Cosmo Gordon, Esq; to be one of the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland, in the room of John Grant, Esq; deceased.

War-office, Feb. 4. 1777, *continued.* [112.]

[*For Subalterns see our cover.*]

61st reg. of foot: Lieut. Sir William Moore, Bt, to be Captain, vice John Hamilton.

Ens. Anthony Renwick, of Capt. Terrott's Independent Company of Invalids, to be Town-Major of Hull, vice James Edmondes.

Drum-Maj. Charles Stuart, of the 3d foot-guards, to be Drum-Major-General, vice Henry Moore.

War-office, March 4. 1777.

Royal reg. of horse-guards: Lieut. Lewis Buckle to be Adjutant, vice Joseph Darby.

21st reg. of foot: Capt. Brereton Poynton, of the 1st bat. of the 60th reg. to be Captain, vice George Montgomery Metham.

27th reg. of foot: Surgeon's Mate James Gowdy to be Surgeon, vice Thomas Harris.

28th reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. William Taylor to be Captain, vice John Ridley; and Lieut. John Wilson to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice William Taylor.

33d reg. of foot: Lieut. Richard Cotton to be Captain, vice Jeremiah Tincker.

46th reg. of foot: Lieut. William Chetwynd, of the 52d reg. to be Captain, vice Joſeph Atkinſon; and Surgeon's Mate George Armourer to be Surgeon, vice John Stuart.

Royal Americans, 1ſt bat.: Capt. George Montgomery Matham, of the 21ſt reg. to be Captain, vice Brereton Poynton.

Capt. Henry Crawford, of the 52d reg. to be Captain of an Independent Company of Invalids at Jerſey, vice Charles Terrott.

John Steff, Clerk, to be Chaplain to the garriſon of Tobago, vice John Trotter.

Lieut.-Col. Patrick Mackellar, of the engineers, to be Colonel in Minorca only.

Lieut.-Col. George Scott, of the 61ſt reg. to be ditto.

Col. George Monſon to be Lieutenant-General in the Eaſt-Indies only.

War-office, March 25.

7th reg. of foot: Lieut. George Peacock to be Captain, vice Thomas Heſketh.

14th reg. of foot: Lieut. Thomas Appleford Wopls to be Adjutant, vice Andrew Laurie.

17th reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieutenant Thomas Welch to be Captain, vice William Leſlie; Lieut. George Seymour to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Thomas Welch; and John Horne, Surgeon's Mate, to be Surgeon, vice Andrew Wardrop.

26th reg. of foot: Capt. Andrew Gordon to be Major, vice Charles Preſton; and Lieut. John André, from the 7th foot, to be Captain, vice Andrew Gordon.

27th reg. of foot: Lieut. Archibald Rutherford, from the 22d reg. to be Captain, vice William Parker; and Lieut. John Towell to be Captain, vice Andrew Watſon.

28th reg. of foot: Col. Charles Grey to be Colonel, vice Thomas Fale.

35th reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. Hugh Maſſey to be Captain, vice Erafmus John Phillips; Lieut. William Buchanan to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Hugh Maſſey; and Lieut. Alexander Robertſon, from the 42d reg. to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice William Buchanan.

45th reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. James Samuel Engel to be Captain, vice Hugh Nevin; and Lieut. William Snowe to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice James Engel.

52d reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. John Powell to be Captain, vice Thomas Williamſon; and Lieut. Henry Barry, to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice John Powell.

57th reg. of foot: Lieut. Thomas Thompſon to be Adjutant, vice Edward Murray.

Capt. William Gardiner, of the 45th reg. to be Major in the Army.

Col. Charles Grey to be Major General in America only.

Capt. John Upton to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the Eaſt Indies only.

Lieut.-Col. Sir William Erſkine to be Aide-de-camp to the King, vice Charles Grey.

Staff Officers in North America.

Surg. Richard Proctor, from the 5th foot, to be Apothecary to the Hoſpital, vice James Jameſon.

Capt. William Bomford, of the 40th foot, to be Town-Major of New-York.

Serj.-Maj —— Thompſon, of the 37th foot, to be Town Adjutant of ditto.

Lieut. Michael Seix, of the 46th foot, to be Barrackmaſter of ditto.

William Bruce, Surgeon to the Hoſpital, to be Extra Phyſician to ditto.

John Stuart, Surgeon to the 46th reg. to be Surgeon to the Hoſpital, vice William Bruce.

Commiſſions ſigned by his Majeſty for the army in Ireland.

One dated March 5. 1777.

67th foot: Lieut. Robert Gore to be Captain, vice Marmaduke Green, who retires.

From other papers, &c.

"*Edinburgh, March* 8. Laſt night arrived here his Majeſty's warrant, confirming to Ld Frederick Campbell his office of Lord Regiſter of Scotland *during life*, which his Lordſhip held formerly *during pleaſure* only."

Prices of grain at Haddington, April 18.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	21s. 6d.	20s. 9d.	20s. 0d.
Bear,	12s. 6d.	12s. 0d.	11s. 3d.
Oats,	10s. 6d.	10s. 0d.	9s. 8d.
Peaſe,	10s. 0d.	9s. 6d.	9s. 2d.

Edinburgh, April 18. Oat-meal, 9 d. 2 f. Bear-meal, 6 d. Peaſe meal, 6 d.

The Edinburgh bill of burials for March 1777.

Within the city	Males 34	Fem. 39	73	107. Decr. 5.
In the Weſt-kirk-yard	Males 13	Fem. 21	34	

Age.			No.	Diſeaſes.	No.
Under		2	36	Aged ——	16
Between	2 &	5	14	Ague —	1
	5 &	10	8	Bowelhive —	6
	10 &	20	5	Chincough —	4
	20 &	30	4	Conſumption —	27
	30 &	40	6	Fever —	19
	40 &	50	9	Meaſles —	5
	50 &	60	5	Small pox —	14
	60 &	70	8	Stillborn —	5
	70 &	80	7	Suddenly —	3
	80 &	90	5	Teething —	6
	90 &	100	0	Water in head —	1